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ADOLPHUS G. STUDER
Brevet Major U. S. Volunteers
Consul at Singapore, India
Consul at Barmen, Germany
General Supt. of Education, Louisiana

Annals of Iowa

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Did an Iowan Start a War in the Indies?

BY JAMES WARREN GOULD

One of the legends of the Indies is that an Iowan, Adolphus G. Studer, caused a war which ended in the conquest of the last remaining independent area of the Indies, the Sultanate of Atjeh. Here, for the first time, the true story can be told through the courtesy of the Dutch Government which opened its archives to this writer.

Adolphus G. Studer was born in Bern Canton, Switzerland in 1831.¹ Having come to the United States as a young man, he was naturalized an American citizen. As first lieutenant in the 15th Iowa Infantry under General W. W. Belknap, he was wounded at the battle of Shiloh (1862) and promoted to captain. He resigned from active service before the end of the war, but served as captain and then brevet major in the United States Volunteers until 1866. He then took part in the Reconstruction, serving as General Superintendent of Education in Louisiana. He then resided on a farm fifteen miles from Des Moines, Iowa, while working with the State Bank of Iowa. With the influence of his former commanding officer, W. W. Belknap, who had become Secretary of War, he was appointed American Consul

¹ For Mr. Studer's early life the help of Emory H. English of the ANNALS OF IOWA, Iowa State Dept. of History, Des Moines, is gratefully acknowledged. His official career is from U.S. Dept of State, Consular Reports, Foreign Affairs Records Group, National Archives, Washington (hereafter cited as *State*), *Singapore*, Vols. 8 and 20; *Barmen*, Vol. 5 in *State*; Register 1889 and 1892 in *State*; and van de Putte to Read, March 6, 1873 in *Buiten.*, *Singapore*, Vol. 100.

in Singapore in 1871. He served there faithfully until 1899 when his health and age suggested a transfer to Frankfurt. The Department of State found a vacancy for him at Barmen, Germany, where he served until he was 62. He was then transferred back to Singapore where he served only a short time longer, but he continued to live there until 1894.

The reader will agree that from such a long career of devotion to relatively obscure public service and conservative antecedents one can hardly expect the adventuresome disposition of a filibusterer.

Studer arrived in Singapore in September, 1871. Up to that time the political interests of the United States government in Sumatra² had always been completely non-territorial. The United States has confined its political contacts to the protection of American citizens and their commerce. To implement this, the conclusion of treaties of commerce and navigation had been frequently suggested. Although the Americans never desired any territorial concessions, the fact that commercial treaties were often used by the Europeans as the prelude to conquest probably made the Europeans fear similar American ambitions. There were certainly many opportunities to conclude treaties with the independent powers of Sumatra, or even obtain territorial concessions if they had been desired. However, the adventurer Walter M. Gibson was the only American who ever had any such territorial ambitions, and in them he did not have the support of his government. Yet repeatedly in history the Americans have been accused by the European powers in Sumatra of having territorial ambitions. Upon investigation these claims prove to have had no substance.

In 1872, at a time when American mercantile interests in Sumatra were virtually at an end, the United States briefly considered a commercial treaty with Atjeh. This was the last opportunity to conclude such a pact,

² See Gould, James W., "Sumatra—America's Pepperpot 1784-1873," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Vol. 92, (1956), Nos. 2, 3 and 4.

considering that commercial interests in Atjeh terminated in 1866. It could hardly be expected that the treaty would have received any support in the United States, let alone agreement to a political concession.

Dutch historians have almost universally accepted the story of the origins of the Dutch conquest of Atjeh that was given out by the Netherlands government to justify its actions.³ That story, in summary, is that the Atjehnese refused to live up to their promises of 1858 to suppress "piracy," and while the Dutch were negotiating this matter, the Sultan's envoys treacherously concluded treaties with agents of various foreign powers at Singapore, primarily the United States. To forestall foreign intervention, the Dutch armies invaded Atjeh. Therefore the actions of the American Consul in Singapore, Adolphus G. Studer, have been put in the worst light of conspiracy against the Dutch. By implication, the motives of the United States government are impugned.

As the history books now stand, the United States is partially responsible for the tragic Atjeh war which lasted thirty-five years and cost many Dutch and Indonesian lives. Since this is the only story presented, American and English authors have accepted it without question. However, several obscure Dutch publications suggest some contrivance of the story by a Dutch agent.⁴ Very recently the eminent Dutch historian, Bernard H. M. Vlekke, quite independently also discovered documents in the American archives which suggest such a conspiracy.⁵

³ Netherlands Ministry of Colonies, *Officieele Beschieden betreffende het ontstaan van den oorlog tegen Atjeh in 1873* (The Hague: Alg. Landsdrukkery, 1881) is the usual source of Dutch historians, supplemented by the account of the Minister of Colonies, Eg. de Waal, *Onze Indische Financien*, Nieuwe Reeks, Vol. 6, pp. 230-242.

⁴ A Dutch naval officer in Atjeh referred to the discovery of American plots through the "slyness and cunning" of a Dutch agent: J. A. Kruyt, *Atjeh en de Atjehers* (Leiden: Kolff, 1877), p. 8. E. Nyland, *Schetsen uit Insulinde* (Utrecht: H. E. Breyer, 1892), p. 224, says that a Dutch spy "played a very treacherous role in this affair."

⁵ B. H. M. Vlekke, *Nusantara*, pp. 299-300, written while the author was in the United States, was the first recognition of the American documents.

ORIGINS OF THE ATJEH WAR; THE SUMATRA TREATY

That expansive movement of the Dutch in Sumatra, which was stimulated in part by an American filibusterer Gibson in 1853, had by no means ended in the 1860's.⁶ The absorption of the native states of the East Coast was almost as slow a process as it had been in the west. This was particularly true because the British protested the "arbitrary and encroaching policy" and "aggression" of the Dutch every inch of the way.⁷ By 1865 the tide of advance had reached the borders of Atjeh proper after the absorption of the former feudatory states of Atjeh on the East Coast. Dutch interest in the border march of Tamiang, which lay barely within Atjeh like Trumon on the West Coast, naturally brought up the declarations in the Treaty of 1824 relative to the independence of Atjeh.

Dutch advances were largely conducted from their East Coast administrative center of Riau. Since the British watchpost for North Sumatra was at Singapore, the Dutch Consul there was in a key position to gauge British opinion and to assist moves at Riau. Holding the post of Netherlands Consul at Singapore was a British citizen, William H. Read. He strongly favored Dutch expansion and was a close acquaintance of the Dutch Minister of Colonies, Fransen van de Putte. Read's character is revealed by his own letter in which he quoted the British governor of the Straits saying, "The Straits people have no confidence in your sincerity."⁸

It is clear from both the Dutch and the British ar-

⁶ Lt. Gen. J. van Swieten who commanded the Second Expedition against Atjeh in 1873 cited Gibson's attempt as an example of the designs of foreign powers that justified (to the author) the Atjeh War: *De Waarheid over Onze Vestiging in Atjeh* (Zalt Bommel: Joh. Noman, 1879), p. 7.

⁷ For example, British Minister in The Hague to the Dutch Foreign Office, April 13, 1863 in Netherlands, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Buitenlands Zaken*, Algemein Ryksarchief, The Hague (hereafter cited as *Buiten*), *Legatie Groot Brittanie*, Vol. 192; Brit. Minister to Foreign office, May 27, 1865 in *Buiten*, Vol. 3136.

⁸ W. W. Read to Fransen van de Putte, Oct. 25, 1864, No. 9769, p. 2 in *Buiten*, Vol. 3136.

chives that until mid-1868 there was no suggestion whatever of changing the status of Atjeh, or of British complaint about "piracy." British complaints for over four decades were solely directed against discriminatory trade restrictions which resulted from the Dutch expansion in Sumatra.

The first change came in mid-1868 when Engelbertus de Waal became the Dutch Minister of Colonies. This man had considerable experience in the Indies and was well-known for his writings on colonial policy. At this time Read visited The Hague and with the knowledge of Dutch officials approached the British Foreign Office about problems in Sumatra and was able to report home that the British were favorable to some proposal of settlement.⁹ Accordingly, in his first interview with the British Minister at The Hague, Admiral E. A. J. Harris, de Waal mentioned the Dutch acquisition of Atjeh for the first time. The suggestion originated with the Dutch and had no excuse except the *mission civilisatrice*.¹⁰

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 gave Atjeh new strategic importance, placing it on the new gateway to the Orient.¹¹ After protracted negotiations between the Dutch and British, largely over Dutch reservations about free trade, a treaty was finally concluded with the essential provision which had originated with the Dutch suggestion, withdrawing British objections to Dutch conquest of Atjeh.¹² The British consent was incorporated in the famous Sumatra Treaty of November 2, 1871, as Article One:

Her Britannic Majesty desists from all objections against the ex-

⁹ Read to van de Putte, May 8, 1863, No. 3552, p. 3 in *Buiten*. Vol. 3136.

¹⁰ Harris to Foreign Secretary Stanley, July 24, 1868, No. 66 in Great Britain, Foreign Office, *F.O.* 37/487, Public Record Office London.

¹¹ For Dutch recognition of this factor, see H. Blink, *Opkomst en Ontwikkeling van Sumatra als Economisch-Geographisch Gebied*, p. 70 and E. S. de Klerck, *History of the Netherlands East Indies*, Vol. 2, pp. 342, 336.

¹² Article One of November draft and Article Eight of final treaty of 1870 in *Buiten* Vol. 3136, Nos. 7455 and 1952.

tensions of the Netherland Dominion on any part of the island of Sumatra and consequently from the reserve in that respect contained in the notes exchanged by the Netherlands and British plenipotentiaries at the conclusion of the treaty of 17 March 1824.¹³

Dutch and British archives clearly show that: (1) the Dutch contemplated the annexation of Atjeh since 1868, and insisted on the use of military force after 1870, (2) that the Dutch and not the British initiated the idea, and (3) that "piracy" was not a British complaint, but a Dutch excuse for aggression.¹⁴ This should dispel any question of the responsibility for the origins of the war.

THE SINGAPORE PLOT

After the conclusion of the treaty of 1870, the Netherlands Indies Government under Governor-General Junker J. Loudon attempted to obtain Atjehnese assent to a new treaty which would annex Atjeh to the Dutch East Indies. The new Dutch overtures to Atjeh were made as tactlessly and were rejected as peremptorily as most of the others of the past 270 years. The Vice President of the Council of the Indies, i.e., equivalent to chief of Loudon's cabinet, Frederik N. Nieuwenhuyzen, was largely responsible for the negotiations.

Most of the local negotiations were conducted by the Resident of Riau, Schiff. There being no direct cable to Batavia, most of Schiff's messages passed through the hands of the Dutch Consul General in Singapore, William H. Read, who we have seen was

¹³ Text in Sir Edward Hertslet, Comp., [Commercial] *Treaties and Conventions between Great Britain and Foreign Powers* (31 Vols., London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1827-1935,) Vol. 13, pp. 665-666; Dutch copy is Kabinet No. 3/218 in *Buiten., Legatie Gr. Brit.*, Vol. 193.

¹⁴ There is not one piece of evidence in the American or Dutch archives to prove that the United States ever complained about piracy as asserted by some authors, for example, A. W. S. O'Sullivan's introduction to C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Vol. 1, pp. vii, ix; A. Kruisheer, *Atjeh 1896* (2 Vols., Weltevreden: Visser, 1913), Vol. 2, pp. 240, 242. de Klerck, *History*, Vol. 2, gives a fair picture of the truth of "piracy" stories (p. 342) and notes that Dutch conquests certainly did not eliminate the abuses (p. 359). Nor is there any documentary evidence that a British fear of an American base in Atjeh motivated British concessions as asserted by de Klerck, *History*, Vol. 2, p. 336 and Amry Vandenbosch, *The Dutch East Indies* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1941), p. 376.

deeply interested in Dutch expansion in Sumatra. In 1868 his visit to Europe had paved the way to British abnegation with respect to Atjeh as we have mentioned, and another visit to the Dutch Minister of Colonies probably concerned Sumatra. Since 1861 Read had "given aid" to an indigent Sumatran prince, Tunku Mohamed Arifin of Moco-Moco. Arifin acknowledged being a Dutch subject and had applied for a job under the Dutch in Singapore. This was granted to him, for Read gave him money frequently thereafter, and Arifin often reported to Read about various political affairs.¹⁵

According to Studer, it was in the summer of 1872 that Arifin first approached him.¹⁶ Arifin inquired whether the United States would help him regain his father's throne in Sumatra. Studer very properly replied that the United States could not interfere in the matter. When Arifin asked why America did not annex colonies in the Indies, such as Atjeh, Studer astutely replied "that it was not our policy to annex in like manner; and, at most, all we wanted, was to make treaties of peace and commerce."

THE ATJEHNESE APPEAL FOR AID

By September 1872 it was common knowledge that the Dutch were gathering forces to invade Atjeh. The Atjehnese premier, Panglima Tibang, went to Singapore to appeal to the Governor of the Straits under the Raffles treaty of 1819, but the British adhered to their most recent agreement not to obstruct a Dutch con-

¹⁵ First use of restricted material in the Dutch Archives: *Procès Verbal* of Arifin, July 27, 1873, encl. 1 to Minister of Colonies to Foreign Minister, Nov. 15, 1873, No. Q 30 in *Buiten., Stukken betreffende den Oorlog met Atjeh* (hereafter cited as Atjeh), Vol. RalII (July 1, 1873-Jan. 1, 1874). Dutch writers are aware of Read's employment of Arifin, for instance, van Swieten, *De Waarheid*, p. 11 and de Klerck, *History*, Vol. 2, pp. 346-347.

¹⁶ The date of their initial meeting varies: 1864 in Schiff to Loudon, Feb. 24, 1873, p. 2 in file May 14, 1873 Kab. 5, *Atjeh*, Vol. Ral (Jan. 1-July 1, 1873); 1863 in Read to Gen. Secretary, Batavia, Feb. 28, 1873, No. 26, *Singapore* Vol. 8, p. 144 in *State*; 1861 in Arifin to Read, Feb. 14, 1873 in file May 14, 1873 Kab. 5, *Atjeh*, *Ral*.

quest of Atjeh.¹⁷ They put Tibang off with false assurances of Dutch good intentions. Ingratiating himself with the Atjehnese premier, Read's agent, Arifin, was able to become his spokesman. In that capacity he approached Studer on September 17, 1872, and appealed for American aid and a treaty of assistance. To this Studer merely asked for a written appeal.

It was probably a result of Arifin's passing this reply to him that Panglima Tibang said, "I hope to come back here soon with a letter from our prince to the Consul." Arifin told Read about the possibility of a written request for aid. But curiously Read failed to report to Batavia that which he did report six months later in a tone of alarm implying recent discovery. Studer became quite enthusiastic about the treaty idea, but mentioned only to a few Americans the resources of Sumatra, the benefit to navigation, and "how a now happy and independent people would escape serfdom." However, Studer said, "In annexation I did not believe."

UNITED STATES NAVY CONSIDERS ATJEH

One of the Americans to whom Studer mentioned the idea of a treaty was Rear Admiral Thornton A. Jenkins, commanding the squadron of the United States Navy at Hongkong. Jenkins had arrived at Singapore on November 28, 1872, with his two largest warships, the "Colorado" and the "Lackawana." This was in no way connected with Sumatra events and merely followed the established custom of waiting for the expected arrival of a new flagship.¹⁸

Studer talked with Jenkins about the Atjeh treaty, and suggested that Jenkins stop at Atjeh. However,

¹⁷ The following facts, except where noted, are drawn from these sources: Arifin's *Proces Verbal* of July 27, 1873; Arifin's Diary in the same file; and Studer to Secretary H. Fish, March 18, 1873, No. 71, *Singapore*, Vol. 10 in *State* (hereafter cited as Studer's account). The accounts are not contradictory unless so indicated.

¹⁸ Admiral Jenkins to Secy. of Navy, Dec. 3, 1872, No. 78, U.S. Navy, *Asiatic Station, Jenkins*, Naval Records Groups, National Archives, Washington (hereafter cited as *Jenkins*), Vol. 1872, item No. 129.

when Jenkins heard rumors of war, he very properly decided not to go there lest he become involved.¹⁹

Shortly after this, in mid-December, Read went off to Bangkok on official business. This departure is more curious, particularly when the newspapers predicted war with Atjeh at any moment. One wonders whether Read was aware that war was not as imminent as the public believed and absented himself to avoid any suspicion of collusion with the subsequent actions of his employee Arifin. The Atjehnese Premier arrived just after Read left, and went first to Riau to forestall an expected Dutch ultimatum, waiting there for six weeks for a favorable Dutch reply.

When Admiral Jenkins returned to Singapore from a trip to Calcutta on January 15, 1873, Arifin approached him and asked whether he would conclude a treaty with Atjeh the next time he came back. Jenkins replied that unlike the British and Dutch, the United States had no colonies or territorial ambitions. When Jenkins left Singapore on January 23, he had made it perfectly clear to Studer and Arifin that he was not interested in visiting Atjeh.²⁰

THE ATJEH-AMERICAN TREATY

Two days later, Premier Tibang arrived from Riau on the Dutch warship *Marnix* which had offered to take him home to Atjeh. In view of Read's knowledge of the possible appeal to foreign powers, it is surprising that the Dutch should have given Tibang an opportunity to stop at Singapore unless they desired an appeal to be made. Arifin, the Dutch agent, arranged an interview between Tibang and Studer on January 29, at which he was to be present. Studer's version of the interview is that Tibang said the Sultan was glad to make a treaty, particularly in view of current Dutch pressures. After displaying his powers to treat, he asked Studer if he were ready to negotiate. Studer's

¹⁹ Studer's account, p. 9; Jenkins to Sec. Navy, April 24, 1873, No. 24, *Jenkins*, Vol. 1873, No. 24.

²⁰ Studer's account, p. 9; Jenkins to Sec. Navy, Jan. 19, 1873, No. 5 and Feb. 16, 1873, No. 7, *Jenkins*, Vol. 1873, Nos. 10, 13.

report says, "I told him at once that I had no power at all to make a treaty, neither was I authorized to ask for one . . .," but he adhered to his original offer to transmit treaty proposals to Washington. Tibang then said he had no idea what terms the United States might want. Studer foolishly got drawn into a discussion of this by asking what Atjeh would give. Tibang referred to the decline of American trade, which he hoped to revive, and offered Atjehnese protection of American trade and an agreement not to treat with any other powers. When Tibang kept insisting on American desires, Studer suggested things like extra-territoriality, property rights, security, religious freedom, extradition, etc. Nothing was put into writing.

The account which Read obtained from Arifin agrees almost entirely with Studer's, that Studer said that he was not empowered to make a treaty and that the Atjehnese would have to draw it up, and then he would send copies to Washington and Hongkong. Read's account differs essentially in adding the story of how the treaty was put into writing. "In order to assure himself of the contents of the treaty Mohamed Arifin made, so he said, in the form of the treaty concluded between the various nations and Siam . . .," a draft of which he read to Studer. That Arifin came armed with a draft of a treaty puts a new complexion on this conspiracy. It may be more than coincidence that his employer was currently interested in Siam. Studer felt he could find a better example of a treaty, and read the text of the Brunei Treaty which was translated into Malay and written down by Arifin "then and there."²¹

Apparently realizing that he still had nothing to prove that this dictation was Studer's "treaty," Arifin went back on January 31 and told Studer that Tibang wanted a letter saying that he had called on Studer. Without realizing that the letter would be used

²¹ Read to The Hague, June 15, 1873, No. 156, *Buiten., Singapore, Copying Book*, 1873, Vol. 8, pp. 423-424.

against him, Studer wrote Tibang a purely social letter dated February 5, 1873, only mentioning his visit, and nothing else.

Then, what is most incredible, Arifin did nothing for two weeks, not even mentioning the interview to the Dutch Vice Consul Meier, or to the Commander of the *Marnix* who had access to all of the confidential material on war preparations. One suspects that Read was essential for the correct transmission of the news.²² Arifin also managed to compromise the Italian Consul by receiving an appeal from the Atjehnese.

After receiving a letter from Arifin, Read returned to Singapore on February 13 and sent Arifin off to Riau to tell Resident Schiff, giving him the rather generous travel allowance of \$2 per mile in addition to the \$25 passage money. After his return from Riau, passage paid by Schiff, Read gave Arifin about \$45, and asked Batavia's approval.²³ Was this the price of treachery?

For unexplained reasons Read waited two days after his return to report Arifin's news, and then telegraphed only the following alarming teaser:

"Intrigues of great interest discovered of Atjehnese envoys with the American and Italian Consuls which may call for immediate consideration. Details by the first boat."²⁴

The next day he sent the following details by telegram:

"The envoys showed the American and Italian Consuls a general letter from the Sultan and sought help against the Dutch. American Consul at once promised that he would write Admiral Jenkins in China and made a treaty of 12 articles which must be signed by the Sultan and sent back here . . . The Americans will apparently be ready to go in two months. This information can be given full credence."²⁵

The effect in Batavia was electric. A telegram was sent off to The Hague: "Consul General at Singapore informs of treachery of Atjeh. Mission there of Amer-

²² Read to Loudon, Sept. 6, 1873, *Atjeh*, RaIII.

²³ Read to Loudon, March 3, 1873, p. 2, *Atjeh*, RaI.

²⁴ Read to Loudon, Feb. 15, 1873, *Buiten., Singapore*, Vol. 8, p. 133.

²⁵ Read to Loudon, Feb. 16, 1873, *Buiten., Singapore*, Vol. 8, pp. 134-135.

ican and Italian Consuls against us. Both have meddled in the question . . . American Consul presented a treaty to Atjeh and writes to Admiral in China."²⁶ In The Hague on February 18 the King was asked to consider the necessity of fulfillment of obligations of the treaty of 1824 giving security to Atjeh, with peaceful measures, of course, "as long as we are not compelled by Atjeh itself to [use] force."²⁷ The Foreign Office was asked to ask Washington and Rome to disavow their Consul's actions and to clear the matter with other great powers, on the basis of Dutch protection of commerce.²⁸ A note was sent off to the Netherlands Minister in Washington which authorized him to read to Secretary of State Fish a note describing how Dutch had "assumed the task of assuring the security of navigation and commerce" of Atjeh according to treaties with the British, that they had learned "that Atjehnese delegates are having relations with the Consul of the United States at Singapore, that he had the intention to conclude a treaty with them and he even is preparing to call upon the Admiral of the American fleet in the China Sea." The Dutch government considered that such actions might increase Atjehnese resistance, and was certain that the United States cabinet would not want to impede the Dutch, but rather give sympathy and support to their "*action civilisatrice*."²⁹ As an afterthought, the next day the Dutch asked the Secretary of State to request that Studer abstain from negotiations.³⁰

The Hague replied skeptically to Batavia on February 19:

If you do not doubt the truth of the information of Consul

²⁶ Van de Putte to Foreign Office, Feb. 18, 1873 LaA4, p. 1, *Atjeh* RaI.

²⁷ Van de Putte to The King, Feb. 18, 1873 LaA4, p. 2, *Atjeh* RaI.

²⁸ Van de Putte to Foreign Office, Feb. 18, 1873 LaA4, pp. 2-3, *Atjeh* RaI.

²⁹ Foreign Office to Neth. Min. Washington, Feb. 20, 1873, No. 5/16 Kab., Buiten., *Moelykheden met Amerika over de Blokkade*, 1872-1874 (hereafter cited as *Blokkade*).

³⁰ Foreign Office to Neth. Min. Washington, Feb. 21, 1873, No. 3/17 Kab. in *Blokkade*.

Singapore . . . send strong naval force to Atjeh to ask explanation and assurance of two-faced and treacherous conduct.³¹

THE OPENING OF THE ATJEH WAR

This reply was as much as approval for invasion, and without even waiting for written details from Read, Loudon summoned an extraordinary meeting of the Council of the Indies and military leaders on February 21. The next morning Loudon telegraphed The Hague this summary of their decisions:

Council of Netherlands Indies at Batavia presided over by me. General and Admiral present. It agreed on my proposal to send a commissioner with four battalions to Atjeh as soon as possible with an ultimatum to recognize us as sovereign or war. We must confront America with fait accompli. Vice President [Nieuwenhuyzen] is the man . . . LOUDON³²

In other words, Read had furnished Loudon with his *casus belli*. Atjeh was given only two choices: to surrender under duress or to fight. Every Netherlander who knew the history of Atjeh knew what the answer would be.

If Loudon had any doubts at all that he had a good excuse, they were dispelled on February 23 by the receipt of Read's mail report. Loudon's reaction was: "As long as our sovereignty is not recognized, there is still the foreign interference to threaten us like the Sword of Damocles."³³

Before Studer became aware of the plot against him, Read used him for further evidence. When Arifin returned from Riau to Singapore on March 1, he probably reported to Read for instructions. He then went to Studer and asked for another letter addressed to Tibang, which he was given.³⁴ The letter was purely a social greeting with expressions of good will.³⁵ How-

³¹ Loudon to van de Putte, March 1, 1873, p. 1, in Netherlands Ministry of Colonies, *Kolonien*, Depot Schaarsbergen (hereafter cited as Depot), file April 8, 1873, p. 1.

³² Ibid., p. 4.

³³ Loudon to van de Putte, Feb. 25, 1873, p. 20 in file April 7, 1873 No. M8 Geh., *Depot*.

³⁴ Arifin's diary, p. 16.

³⁵ Read to Loudon, March 4, 1873, encl. LaC, in *Blokkade*.

ever, Arifin used it to "prove" that Studer had given him simultaneously a plan of defense of Atjeh to carry to Tibang. The diagram is so ridiculous from a military standpoint that it is difficult to see how any historian has ever given credit to it, especially from an officer with five years service in the Civil war.

5000 men in the woods of the South	5000 in the interior	
	Harbor of Atjeh	5000 in the West

Read then tried to isolate Studer diplomatically by discrediting him with the British, who, however, gave no credence to Read's story.³⁶ When informed by the British of Read's accusations, Studer asked to confront Arifin.³⁷ Arifin was hurried out of Singapore within three days and was never allowed to see Studer again despite the latter's repeated requests.³⁸

Meanwhile Dutch apprehensions were increased when the following telegram was received in Batavia:

From a very reliable source news is received that the American fleet at Hongkong has undoubtedly received orders to steam to Atjeh to be there before us.

VICE PRESIDENT [NIEUWENHUYEN] HEREWITH INFORMED³⁹

Dutch archives only tell that the reliable source was a Dutch trading company with offices in Hongkong.⁴⁰ Needless to say, there never were any such orders. As we have noted, Jenkins had fully made up his mind against any such action and Read knew it.

It is rather difficult to believe that The Hague was unaware of the role Read was playing, for on March 6 van de Putte wrote Read to thank him for his "good

³⁶ Telegram No. 117 in file April 15, 1873, No. Y3 Geh., *Depot*; Studer's account, pp. 21-22.

³⁷ Read to Loudon, March 6, 1873 in *Buiten., Singapore* Vol. 8, p. 193; also May 14, 1873 Kab. 5 in *Atjeh* RaI.

³⁸ Arifin's diary, p. 18.

³⁹ Tel. No. 117 in file April 15, 1873, No. Y3 Geh., *Depot*.

⁴⁰ Loudon to van de Putte, March 6, 1873, file March 6, Kab. 3, *Blokkade*.

services" to the Dutch "especially as we experience them again in all your doings respecting the latest events in the Indian Archipelago, wherefore, allow me, to express you my best thanks."⁴¹

When cables kept pouring in from Batavia adding information about Studer's conspiracy, The Hague moved to obtain American disavowal.⁴² At Dutch urging, the American Minister cabled home:

Netherlands Government wish Consulate at Singapore telegraphed not to meddle with their affairs in Sumatra.⁴³

When this arrived in Washington on March 6, it was the first time that Secretary of State Fish had heard of the affair. Since neither Studer, Batavia or The Hague had even mentioned Atjeh within the last year, he could only reply:

This government has no evidence that Consul at Singapore is meddling—In the absence of specific information, it cannot assume that he is acting otherwise than as duty requires. If the Netherlands Govt. lay any complaints before this Govt., they will be carefully considered and the Consul will be instructed as our obligations to a friendly Power will require.

FISH SECRETARY⁴⁴

Gorham handed a copy of this to Gericke on March 7. When the Dutch persisted, Fish finally telegraphed Studer on March 8:

Netherlands Government represents interference with its affairs in Sumatra. Abstain from interference and report facts.⁴⁵

By March 7 The Hague was able to assure Batavia, "America telegraphs to Singapore for information. From that it further appears that Consul was not empowered" and "from previous telegram from America

⁴¹ Van de Putte to Read, March 6, 1873, *Buiten., Singapore* Vol. 100.

⁴² Loudon to van de Putte, March 5, 1873, file March 5, Kab. 6, *Blokkade*; Gericke to Westenberg, March 5, 1873, file March 5, Kab. 7, *Blokkade*.

⁴³ Gorham to Fish, March 6, 1873, *Despatches from U.S. Legation The Hague*, Vol. 20, in *State*.

⁴⁴ Fish to Gorham, March 6, 1873, *Instructions to the Netherlands*, Vol. 15, pp. 189-190, in *State*.

⁴⁵ Fish to Studer, March 8, 1873, *Despatches to Consuls*, Vol. 69, p. 261 in *State*; Westenberg to Fish, March 8, 1873, *Neth. Notes*, Vol. 7 (1870-1874), in *State*.

it appears negotiations of Consul unknown and unauthorized."⁴⁶ Influenced by the sincerity of American disavowels van de Putte repented approving the ultimatum to Atjeh and sent off a telegram saying "we wish and will not tie your negotiations with prohibition, but think that sovereignty or war, as a demand will make a bad impression elsewhere . . ."⁴⁷

However, van de Putte was to find that a *fait accompli* was being presented to him as well as to the Americans. On March 5, Read had cabled Loudon definite news that the American fleet was not bound for Atjeh.⁴⁸ Despite the receipt of this news by March 6, Nieuwenhuyzen was despatched to Atjeh on March 8.⁴⁹ In reply to The Hague's assurances of American innocence, Loudon presented his ultimatum:

No other security thinkable than recognition of sovereignty. Without that expedition has no purpose. Want positive orders given at once or let me handle this on my own responsibility.⁵⁰

Van de Putte replied on March 10 that he had

No objection if recognition of sovereignty were the result of negotiations. But I cannot approve sovereignty as the first demand . . .⁵¹

When Loudon replied on March 12:

Want it immediately said which demand I must make. I can really find no other starting point and there is no more time to be lost.⁵²

The Hague gave in.

Nieuwenhuyzen stopped to see Read in Singapore and certainly learned that there was no danger from the American fleet, and possibly even heard of the treachery of Arifin. Nieuwenhuyzen proceeded with Arifin to Atjeh, where, when the Sultan refused to re-

⁴⁶ Van de Putte to Gericke, March 12, 1873, p. 2, *Blokkade*.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴⁹ File March 7, 1873, Kab. 4 in *Blokkade*.

⁵⁰ Van de Putte to Gericke, March 12, 1873, p. 4 in file March 17, Geh. Kab. in *Blokkade*. It is therefore incorrect to state that the U.S. government disavowed the action "too late" as does the French author Octave Collet, *Terres et Peuples de Sumatra*, p. 103. De Klerck, *History*, Vol. 2, p. 348, is more correct on this point.

⁵¹ Van de Putte to Gericke, March 12, 1873, as cited above.

⁵² *Idem*.

ceive the ultimatum from Arifin, Nieuwenhuyzen declared war on March 26, 1873.⁵³ Netherlands troops landed and were driven back into the sea. Stronger forces landed again and again, but were fought back for thirty-five years. The Netherlands had underestimated that great human love of freedom which had inspired their own forefathers to struggle valiantly against Spanish oppression.

The Dutch people certainly did not universally approve of this aggression against Atjeh. There was a great deal of opposition to it at the time, and it is no longer regarded as quite so glorious a feat as many regarded it in the nineteenth century.

CONCLUSIONS

UNITED STATES INNOCENCE. American, Dutch and British archives demonstrate that the United States was guiltless of causing the Atjeh war. The conquest of Atjeh was a premeditated act of the Dutch, for which a *casus belli* was sought. The Commissioner in charge of negotiations with Atjeh had had an earlier success in using the Americans as a scapegoat, and the ruse was repeated. The accusations would be hardly credible to students of American diplomatic history who know the era of 1870 to 1896 as the most non-expansive in American foreign policy. The story is rendered more incredible when we review the lack of American territorial interest in Sumatra since 1874, and the end of economic interests in 1873.

AMERICAN ANTI-COLONIALISM. Had the United States been politically ambitious, the opening of the Atjeh war would have been the finest opportunity to obtain territorial control. The Atjehnese delegates were quite prepared to concede territory and trade privileges to any power that would assist them against Dutch aggression. However, neither the American Consul Studer nor his government desired such concessions. The

⁵³ [Nieuwenhuyzen to Loudan], April 3, 1873 in *Buiten., Singapore, Ingekommenstukken*, 1873.

United States remained true to its tradition of being a non-colonial power.

AMERICAN SYMPATHY WITH INDONESIANS. Far from coveting territory in Atjeh, the American consul Studer was sympathetic to Indonesian independence. It was this very sympathy which led him so easily into the clutches of the Dutch agent. No American could help but listen to the appeals of the premier of a nation which was about to lose its independence, even if he could do nothing. Herein lies the greatest irony of the Studer affair. The Americans were accused of doing what they had no desire to do—acquire territory. They failed to do what their natural sympathies called upon them to do, to aid the cause of freedom from colonial domination. They are remembered incorrectly for starting the Atjeh war, when they should be remembered at least as neutral sympathizers in the fight to preserve the freedom of the last independent area of Indonesia.

Studer was merely the convenient scapegoat whose name has not been vindicated. If Studer erred at all, it was in being naive enough to be trapped by that Dutch spy, Arifin, and his master, Read. From all appearances, he was used by Read and Arifin to create a *casus belli* for the conquest of Atjeh. The steps taken by him on behalf of his government were perfectly within diplomatic and consular usage; he offered to transmit treaty proposals to Washington. Considering that Atjeh was an independent country which no one denies it was then, the United States had as much right to protest the transmittal of treaty proposals by Dutch officials as the Dutch had to protest the same by Americans.

After the war had begun, the Atjehnese sent Studer a formal set of treaty proposals which Arifin had induced them to believe the Americans might sign. Studer transmitted them and the full powers of negotiation signed by the Sultan to Washington, without protest from the Dutch. It was merely deposited in the

files of the State Department, where it remains today.⁵⁴ It is a symbol of the once extensive relations between the United States and Atjeh, now all but forgotten.

⁵⁴ Enclosures to despatch No. 107, Oct. 4, 1873, *Singapore*, Vol. 11, in Dept. of State Archives.

MacArthur Lauds Stonewall Jackson

A tribute by Gen. Douglas MacArthur to Lt. Gen. "Stonewall" Jackson of Civil war fame as "a complete master of the art of war" was released recently by Jay W. Johns, president of the Stonewall Jackson memorial in Lexington, Virginia.

Johns, of Charlottesville, Virginia, was in New York for the unveiling of a bust of Jackson in the New York University hall of fame.

Said MacArthur: "General Jackson was a complete master of the art of war. He used its two greatest elements, initiative and surprise, in unsurpassed applications.

"Swift and sure in attack, dogged and determined in defense, undismayed by adverse odds, he was the ideal battle line commander. His fearless independence of character, his spirited presentation of his own views, however in conflict with those above him in authority, can well serve as a model for every officer of high field responsibility.

"I take great pride in the memory of my three uncles who fought under his inspired leadership."

Johns said MacArthur had accepted an appointment as a sponsor of the Jackson memorial.

Seventh Iowa Volunteers in Civil War Gave Valiant Service

BY C. C. CARPENTER AND GEO. W. CROSSLEY

Perhaps no Iowa regiment engaging in the battles of the Civil war bore more of the severe fighting in which the Northern troops engaged in the western battle area than the Seventh Iowa regiment of volunteer infantry. The record of this distinguished body of Iowa men is one of great credit, bravery and sacrifice.

Under proclamation of President Lincoln, bearing date May 3, 1861, the companies composing this regiment were ordered to rendezvous at Burlington, Iowa, and were mustered into the service of the United States by Lieut. Alexander Chambers, United States Army, on dates ranging from July 23 to August 2, 1861. Its first field officers were Col. Jacob G. Lauman, Lieut. Col. Augustus Wentz and Maj. Elliott W. Rice.

During its period in service the regiment had three colonels, the commanding officer following Colonel Lauman being James C. Parrott, who previously upon induction had been captain of Company E of the regiment. The third colonel commanding the regiment was Elliott W. Rice, who at time of induction had held the rank of major.

Like its predecessors the Seventh had but a short stay in its camp at rendezvous, for, on the 6th day of August, only four days after its last company had been mustered, the regiment was ordered to St. Louis, and embarked on the steamer Jennie Whipple, with its camp equipage and baggage. It arrived in St. Louis on the morning of August 8th and marched to the government arsenal, where it was armed, the two flanking companies with Springfield rifles, and the other eight companies with improved Springfield muskets.

The regiment was in Jefferson Barracks for a short time, then went to Pilot Knob, thence to Ironton, where

it remained in camp about two weeks, during which time it had the first opportunity to learn the manual of arms, and was instructed in some of the simpler movements of the company, battalion and regimental drill. About the 1st of September it started on its first campaign with a division composed of six regiments, under the command of Brig. Gen. B. M. Prentiss.

Jackson and Cape Girardeau, Mo., were occupied, and from the latter place the regiment proceeded by steamboat to Cairo, Illinois, and immediately after its arrival there was sent to occupy the position afterwards known as Fort Holt, Kentucky. It remained there but two weeks, and then moved to a point about eight miles from Columbus, where the Rebels had constructed a strong fort. From this point—named Camp Crittenden—the main body of the regiment moved to Fort Jefferson on the Mississippi river, but left a strong picket guard at Camp Crittenden, where one man was wounded in a skirmish with the enemy. Leaving Fort Jefferson, the regiment proceeded to Norfolk and Bird's Point and, at the latter point, remained for some weeks doing picket and guard duty. November 6th, the regiment proceeded on board transports to a point on the Missouri shore about three miles above Belmont, where eight of its ten companies disembarked, leaving two companies to guard the transports.

FIRST BATTLE AT BELMONT

Joining the Twenty-second Illinois regiment, the Seventh Iowa advanced, on the left of the Union line, against the enemy. The official report of Colonel Lauman related details of the engagement and how bravely this regiment fought in this their first battle. After sketching preliminary movements, how the battle was waged was described in the colonel's report in part as follows:

From this time, about 11 o'clock, we fought the Rebels slowly but steadily, driving them before us at every volley. Our advance at this point was slow in consequence of the obstructions in our way, caused by fallen timber and under-

brush, but we crept under and over it, at times lying down to let the fire of the artillery and musketry pass over us, and then up and onward again, until we arrived at the field to the left of the Rebel camp. Here we were joined by our skirmishers, who had succeeded, after a severe struggle, in driving back the enemy.

Forming our line immediately, we poured volley after volley on the retiring foe across the field in front, and on the battery which was stationed at the head of the encampment on our right. Our fire was so hot the guns were soon abandoned, the enemy, about 800, flying across the field in the greatest consternation. By a flank movement to the right, I brought my men into the open space in front of the battery, which was immediately taken possession of, I believe by Lieutenant DeHeus' Company A, whose flag was soon seen flying from one of the captured pieces. We were now immediately in rear of the encampment, and were joined by a portion of Colonel Dougherty's Twenty-second Illinois regiment.

The Rebels kept up a sharp and galling fire upon us, but a few well directed volleys induced them to abandon their camp suddenly. It was here, while the firing was heaviest, that First Sergeant Walker, of Company I, seized the regimental colors and bore them aloft and in front of the regimental line, directing the attention of the boys to a fine, large flag, floating over the encampment, decorated on one side with twelve stars, and on the other with the "Harp of Erin" on a green silk ground; they, with loud huzzas, went forward and secured the flag.

It was in making this charge that my horse was shot. I followed the regiment on foot until we reached the lower end of the encampment, when I was supplied with another horse, which had just been captured by one of the men, when, immediately ordering another charge, we drove all the remaining Rebels over the bank of the river (at this point some twelve feet high), and dashed up the river road until we arrived at the log house which constitutes the "City of Belmont." At this place there was considerable random firing, the Rebels firing from the cover of trees and the bank of the river, and it was here, while giving Captain Parrott, of Company E, orders to "bring off two field pieces which had been abandoned by the Rebels, or to throw them into the river," so as to render them useless against us, that I received a ball through my left thigh, which for a time disabled me. I was assisted by Captain Parrott to the rear of the tents, where I remained but a short time, as, one of the guns of Captain Taylor's battery coming along, they placed me on it and took me to the rear of the encampment. In the meantime, our men had

received orders to burn and destroy the camp and property which had fallen into our hands, and in a very short time the destruction was complete.

The Rebels had, however, not been idle. Having several large steamers at Columbus, they were loaded down with fresh troops, which were thrown between us and our place of debarkation, so as, in a measure, to cut off our retreat. Those of them also who had been driven from their guns in the early part of the fight, seeing us falling back towards our boats, took fresh courage and commenced closing in on us, and as all the Illinois troops had left, or were leaving, except Colonel Dougherty's regiment, we were in danger of being surrounded and cut off. I was apprised of this state of affairs by Colonel Dougherty, to whose bravery I desire to bear testimony, and who lost a limb in his efforts to bring off safely the rear of his brigade, as well as to that of his noble regiment, which fought side by side with us on that memorable day.

I immediately gave orders to my regiment to retire, myself leading the way, but, by this time, we were subjected to an enfilading fire which caused us heavy losses; the men behaved in the most gallant manner, deliberately loading and firing as they retired, and although every other man was either killed or wounded, they scarcely accelerated their step, but coolly and deliberately made their way to the boat. It was after the retreat had commenced that Lieutenant Colonel Wentz was killed. He died on the field of battle, like a true soldier; he was a truly brave man and did his duty well and nobly. Lieutenant Dodge, of Company B, was killed, and Lieutenant Gardner, who commanded Company I, and Lieutenant Ream, of Company C, mortally wounded.

Among my officers, more or less severely wounded, you will find the names of Major Rice, Captains Harper, Parrott, Kittredge and Gardner, and First Lieutenant De Heus (who commanded Company A) of whose bravery I desire to speak in the most emphatic manner. I desire also to direct your attention to Captain Crabb, who was taken prisoner, and who behaved in the bravest manner. But I might go on this way and name nearly every man in the regiment, for they all behaved like heroes, but there are one or two more I feel it my duty to name as deserving special mention: Lieutenant Bowler, Adjutant of the regiment, and Lieutenant Estle, whose conduct was worthy of all praise, and Private Lawrence A. Gregg, whose thigh was broken, and who was left on the field; he was taken prisoner, and his leg amputated, but he died the same day, telling his captors with his dying breath that, if he ever recovered, so as to be able to move, he would shoulder his musket again in his country's cause.

My regiment's entire loss in killed, wounded, prisoners and missing, out of an aggregate of somewhat over 400 engaged, is as follows: Killed 51, died of wounds 3, missing 10, prisoners 39, wounded 124, total 227.

GENERAL GRANT'S PRAISE

In his official report of the battle, General Grant says: "The Seventh Iowa behaved with great gallantry, and suffered more severely than any other of the troops." The day after the battle, the General issued the following brief but characteristic address:

Headquarters District Southeast Missouri, Cairo, Nov. 8, 1861

The General commanding this military district returns his thanks to the troops under his command at the battle of Belmont on yesterday. It has been his fortune to have been in all the battles fought in Mexico by Generals Scott and Taylor, save Buena Vista, and he never saw one more hotly contested or where troops behaved with more gallantry. Such courage will insure victory wherever our flag may be borne and protected by such a class of men. To the brave men who fell, the sympathy of the country is due, and will be manifested in a manner unmistakable.

U. S. GRANT

Brigadier General Commanding

General Grant reported the total loss in his command at four hundred and eighty-five. It will thus be seen that the Seventh Iowa sustained a loss of nearly one-half that of the two brigades engaged in the battle of Belmont. It seems almost incredible that these untrained troops, fighting their first battle, and led by regimental and company officers without military training or experience, should have acquitted themselves when under fire for the first time as well as in any of the subsequent battles in which they were engaged, and in all of which they nobly maintained the honor of the State which sent them into the field.

Another notable feature of the battle of Belmont was the fact that it was the first in which General Grant had command of the Union troops, and his first opportunity to demonstrate his fitness and capacity to command. The Seventh Iowa infantry had a long

and most honorable record of service, and greatly distinguished itself upon other battlefields.

The following extract from the report of Lieut. Col. James C. Parrott will show how the regiment again performed the duty assigned to it, in the reduction and capture of Fort Donelson, an important stronghold of the enemy:

The Second Iowa was given the post of honor, in leading the charge, supported by the balance of the brigade. The Seventh Iowa moved up to the works in fine style, entered the sally-port, and gained, with Second Iowa, a position inside the Rebel works. We were then ordered by the brave, gallant and lamented General Smith to fall back, and take shelter on the outside of the Rebel works.

On the holy Sabbath morning, February 16th, as the day dawned, in the dim distance could be seen the white flag, which in plain language told us all that the strife for the mastery of Fort Donelson had ended, and in a short time the whole column of our wing was marching into the fort, amid loud huzzas, the beating of drums, and the shrill music of fifes, and the time honored stars and stripes waving over us. So fell Fort Donelson, and the Seventh Iowa claims her meed of praise.

The loss of the regiment in this engagement was two killed and thirty-seven wounded. Its relatively small loss, as compared with the Second Iowa, is accounted for by the fact that the Second led in the assault, while the Seventh was with the supporting column, and therefore was not as greatly exposed to the heaviest fire of the enemy's musketry and artillery, but the regiment performed its full duty in the position in which it was placed.

After the fall of Donelson, the regiment remained in the fort some three weeks, quartered in the rude cabins which the Rebels had erected. It then marched to Metal Landing on the Tennessee, and, after about a week there, went on board the steamer White Cloud, and proceeded to Pittsburg Landing, where it went into camp. On the morning of April 6, 1862, the regiment went into action in what has been known generally as the battle of Shiloh, under command of Lieut. Col. J. C. Parrott, and in the two days' progress of that great battle again nobly maintained the honor of its state.

DESPERATE FIGHTING AT SHILOH

On the second day, the gallant Lieutenant Colonel Parrott was so prostrated by illness and exposure that he was compelled to relinquish the command to Maj. E. W. Rice, of whom he says, in his official report "I knew it was placed in good hands, and from him I was proud to learn that it did its duty unflinchingly."

On the first day of the battle of Shiloh, Iowa troops were conspicuous in this last line of resistance, where the fighting continued until after dark, and which resulted in checking the advance of the enemy, and retrieving the disasters of that day. At the close of this battle, the Seventh Iowa had been in the service but about eight months, had participated in three important battles, with an aggregate loss of 300 of the 884 officers and men with which it had left the State; and yet it had not completed one-third of its long and arduous term of service. After the battle of Shiloh, the regiment remained in camp until the Union army again assumed the offensive and the advance upon Corinth began, which resulted in the siege of the stronghold, and its evacuation by the enemy on the 30th of May, 1862.

In all the operations of the brigade and division to which it was attached during this advance and siege, the Seventh Iowa had its full share, on the skirmish and picket line during the advance, in trenches during the siege, and in the pursuit of the enemy after the evacuation. The pursuit ended at Boonville, Mississippi, the enemy having made good his retreat, and the Seventh, with its brigade and division, returned to Corinth, going into camp about two miles southeast of that place, where it remained for the balance of the summer, doing picket and camp guard duty, and perfecting itself in company and battalion drill and manual of arms. In his official report Lieutenant Colonel Parrott says, "On the 15th of September, we were ordered to Iuka; arrived there on the 17th, and, as stated in General Grant's order No. 1, our division

deserves as much credit and praise as the troops who were actually engaged."

MEN AND OFFICERS FOUGHT NOBLY

From Iuka, the regiment returned to Camp Montgomery, where it remained until the 3d of October, when it was again called into action, to meet the forces of Van Dorn and Price who were advancing to the attack of the Union forces in and around Corinth. Maj. Elliott W. Rice, having been promoted to the rank of Colonel, was now in command of the regiment. His official report of the conduct of the Seventh Iowa in the hard fought battle of Corinth, October 3 and 4, 1862, is quoted from in part:

. . . The enemy's battery was placed directly in front of my command, and a most terrific cannonading ensued. My men held this position firmly and unflinchingly for one hour and a quarter, exposed to a murderous fire of shell and canister. Our battery, having exhausted its ammunition, retired and the Rebel infantry advanced in strong force. My men were kept concealed until the enemy advanced within short range, when I opened fire upon them from my whole line, and, for a time, held them in check. They soon rallied, and I was ordered to take a position further in the rear. The enemy moved on, our whole brigade made a sudden charge, and the enemy was again checked, thrown into some confusion, and repulsed. This gave an opportunity to take a more favorable position, and another line was formed between the white house and Battery Robinett, at a point where two howitzers were posted. This position was held until most of the wounded has passed to the rear, and my ammunition was entirely exhausted, when, by order of General Davies, my command was placed to support a battery on the left of Battery Robinett. Gaining this position, I immediately supplied my men with forty rounds of ammunition. Night coming on, the battle of the 3d was ended, and I had lost many noble men. At 10 p.m. I received Colonel Sweeny's order to proceed with my command to a position east of Corinth, and at 1 o'clock the following morning my regiment was moved to a line north of Corinth, when a line of battle was formed fronting west, my position in the brigade being still on the left.

At 3:30 o'clock, the enemy's artillery commenced shelling the town, and about 10 o'clock it was ordered to proceed with my command to the front and deploy it as skirmishers. This

deployment was made and two center companies held as a reserve. After advancing a short distance, I ascertained that the enemy was crossing the railroad in force to a position on the right. I immediately dispatched Lieutenant Colonel Parrott to General Davies with this information, who at once ordered me to return to my former position. I had but gained it for a short time, when the enemy appeared and charged on the battery defended by the brigade on the right of the First.

The brigade on my left was attacked at the same time. I opened a vigorous oblique fire on the enemy charging the battery, and continued it until General Rosecrans ordered me to cease firing. Soon the brigade on my left fell back. The enemy gaining position on my left flank, I was ordered to retire a short distance. I halted my command about fifty yards in the rear. An advance was soon ordered, and I immediately gained the position just abandoned, and the enemy was driven into the woods. They made another attempt, directly in front of my regiment, to charge the battery. My men held their position firmly, checking the enemy, who took refuge from the storm of bullets, which was rained upon them, in the abatis.

The Seventeenth Iowa coming upon my left flank, I advanced rapidly on the Rebel position, when they broke and ran in great confusion. My command had fired the whole of the sixty rounds of cartridges with which it had been supplied in the morning, but was immediately supplied, without leaving the field, by my excellent quartermaster, Lieutenant Forsha, who, regardless of personal safety, was ever ready to supply my command with ammunition, even in the heat of battle. I remained in this position during the balance of the day, and at night bivouacked on the battlefield.

... I must make special mention of Lieutenant Colonel Parrott, who cheered and encouraged the men, and performed his duty with great bravery. It is with pleasure I make favorable mention of almost all my officers who were engaged in the two days' battle. Major McMullin did efficient service until he was wounded and disabled on the evening of the 3d. Captain Conn, although wounded, remained with his command through both days' battle. Captain Hedges and Mahon, left in camp sick, left their beds and came on the battlefield on Saturday, and did excellent service. Their companies were well commanded on Friday by Lieutenants Dillon and Sergeant. Lieutenant Gale displayed great gallantry, and was very severely wounded in the battle of the 4th, after which the company was bravely led by Lieutenant Morrison. Captains Irvin and Reiniger also performed their duties nobly.

I must also mention Lieutenants Hope, Loughridge, Irvin, McCormick, Bennett and Bess.

Captain Smith, who was killed in the last hour of the battle of the 4th, was one of the most promising young officers of the service. He was brave, cool and deliberate in battle, and very efficient in all his duties. Color Sergeant Alec Field was wounded in the battle of the 3d. Afterward the colors were borne by Wm. Akers of Company G, who was also wounded. They were then carried by George Craig, of Company B, all the color guard, with the exception of one, being either killed or wounded. Sergeant Major Cameron, severely wounded, must not escape favorable mention for his bravery. While it is a pleasure to record the noble and heroic conduct of so many of my officers and men, we mourn the loss of our gallant dead, and sympathize deeply with the unfortunate wounded. More than one-third of those taken into action are wounded, or lie dead beneath the battlefield.

The regiment's loss in the battle of Corinth was 122, making a total loss in battle, up to and including the 4th of October, 1862, of 422 officers and men. When the long list of names of those who had died from disease, and of those who had been discharged on account of disability caused by sickness, is added to the actual casualties in battle, the tremendous aggregate loss of this regiment, with but little more than fourteen months' record of service, almost equaled the number first mustered into the service at Burlington, while its original term of service was not yet half completed. Of course, many recruits had been received, and many of the sick and wounded had, from time to time, sufficiently recovered to be able to return to the regiment, and thus its decimated ranks were replenished, but never again did it number half the maximum of a full regiment of officers and men able for duty at any one time.

A MERITED FURLOUGH FOR MEN

After being stationed at Rienzi, Mississippi, and at other points contiguous to Corinth and with occasional engagements, the regiment was ordered to Bethel, Tennessee, where it remained some time, later to Moscow and La Grange, Tennessee, and participated in an expedition to Holly Springs, Mississippi. In Decem-

ber, 1863, having reached Iuka, three-fourths of the men were re-enlisted and given a furlough of thirty days on arriving at Keokuk, and thence to their homes.

Upon reassembling in January, 1864, at Keokuk, the regiment and recruits went to Nashville, via Cairo by boat to engage in the memorable Atlanta campaign, in which it bore a conspicuous part as shown by official reports, meeting the enemy at Lay's Ferry, from the 1st of September being constantly at the front. Lieutenant Colonel Parrott, who had partially recovered and was again in command, says in his official report: "At Rome Cross Roads, Dallas, New Hope Church, Big Shanty, Kenesaw Mountain, Nick-a-Jack Creek, and in close proximity to Atlanta, the Seventh Iowa bore an honorable part. On July 22d, when the lamented McPherson fell, the gallant old Seventh was an active participant in the bloody fray, and added new laurels to her former bright record."

The report concludes as follows: "I am proud to say that the conduct of both officers and enlisted men of the regiment, in the arduous campaign just closed, has been all that could be desired. Every fatigue, however severe, has been cheerfully borne, and they have been always ready for the post of danger. Whether on weary marches, many of them performed at night, over difficult roads, or working in the trenches before Atlanta, under the fire of the enemy's sharpshooters and artillery, or standing shoulder to shoulder on the battlefield, they have done their whole duty."

The regiment next took an active part in the operations which resulted in the evacuation of Atlanta. It then proceeded to Rome, Georgia, thence to Allatonna.

On the 11th of November the Seventh Iowa regiment took up the march through the heart of Georgia and entered the city of Savannah on December 21, 1864. On the 28th day of January, 1865, the regiment left Savannah to enter upon its last great campaign, through the Carolinas, which practically ended in the last days of March 1865. In his official report, dated

at Goldsboro, North Carolina, March 27, 1865, Lieutenant Colonel Parrott describes the movements and operations of his regiment with great particularity, showing the almost incredible hardships encountered in wading through swamps, often waist deep, marching over wretched and nearly impassable roads, often drenched by heavy rains, and, added to these hardships, skirmishing almost daily with the enemy, now rendered desperate by the certainty of the complete triumph of the armies of the Union.

Upon reaching Goldsboro, the Seventh regiment had covered a distance of 480 miles from their starting point on the southern sea coast, but, after a season of rest, again started north, cheered by the thought that the cause for which they had suffered and endured such great hardships was at last triumphant, and the remainder of the march to Washington would be made with comparative ease.

At last the goal was reached. On that memorable 24th day of May, 1865, the Seventh Iowa infantry proudly wheeled into its place in line with the grand army which marched down that broad avenue of the Nation's Capital, and passed in review for the last time. Its days of marching and fighting were over. A little later on, it was sent to Louisville, Kentucky, where, on the 12th day of July, 1865, it was mustered out of service, was then sent to Davenport, Iowa, where final payment to men and officers was made, the regiment disbanded, and the men furnished with transportation to their homes.

400 Book Gift Started Library

The first library in the United States began in 1638, when John Harvard gave 400 books to the university named for him.

As Robert Lucas Became Iowa's Territorial Governor

BY T. S. PARVIN*

Governor Lucas received his commission on the 17th of July, 1838, and, on the 25th departed for the distant Territory by way of the Ohio river. Stopping at Cincinnati to purchase a library for the Territory for which congress had appropriated \$5,000, he made the acquaintance of a young college graduate, Theodore S. Parvin. The governor was favorably impressed with the young man and tendered him the position of private secretary, which Mr. Parvin accepted. They reached Burlington on the 13th of August, the governor having selected that city for the capital of the new territory.—B. F. Gue's "History of Iowa."

As I walked the plank to reach the western bank of the mighty river, I was met by one of the pioneers who had preceded me, my former college classmate, Henry W. Starr, a name endeared to the memory of the pioneers and old settlers, and all later comers as well, and has become the synonym of eloquence and profound learning in his chosen profession, the law. We, for I was in the governor's (Lucas') suite, were escorted to the hotel, the old Burlington House, by (A. C.) Dodge and (V. P.) Van Antwerp, of the United States land office, (James) Clarke and (John H.) McKenney, of the *Iowa Territorial Gazette*, (James W.) Grimes, (E. C.) Chapman, (H. O.) Browning and many others, whose hearty welcome and cordial greeting made us feel "at home" in a new and strange land.

During the evening of our first day in Iowa, among

*Theodore S. Parvin (b. 1817, d. 1901); graduated in 1833 at Woodworth college, Ohio, and from the Cincinnati Law School in 1838, when he became private secretary to Governor Lucas, serving two years; was first librarian of the Iowa territorial Library est. in 1840; served as district attorney and three terms as probate judge, 10 years as clerk of the U.S. district court; elected Register of the state land office in 1857, and then served another 10 years as professor of natural science in the University of Iowa; editor *ANNALS OF IOWA* 1864-5, and for more than 30 years regarded one of Iowa's most valued historical writers, his later life spent as librarian of the state Masonic library at Cedar Rapids.

our callers were two young men—all were young then—who later became governors of Iowa, Clarke of the territory (third and last, 1845) and Grimes of the state (the third, 1854); two who became United States senators, Dodge (1848) and Grimes (1858); three members of congress, Chapman, first delegate (1838) succeeded by Dodge (1840-46), and Leffler, first congressman (1846); and several others who in later years won deserved fame in their several callings—Starr and others in the law, Lowe and others in medicine, Edwards of the *Patriot* later *Hawkeye*, and McKenney, of the *Gazette*, in journalism; H. W. Moore and others, leading merchants in earlier and later years; still others who became at an early day legislators and members of the first two constitutional conventions (1844 and 1846), who, like St. John in the wilderness, were to prepare the way for the coming of the state.

IMMIGRANT TRAINS FROM EAST

The pioneers and early settlers came from sturdy stock. I have seen many and many an immigrant train which had come all the way from Connecticut and Pennsylvania and Ohio in the canvas-back wagons in which the families were housed, with only enough furniture to enable them to cook their evening and morning meals and chairs for the older members of the family to sit upon, with extra horses, the milk cows and the dogs following in the rear. When night came, they camped by the side of some stream where water was abundant, and beneath the shade of some wide-spread oak.

One of the largest and most beautiful I ever saw in Iowa grew upon my own homestead, a mile from the river, at Muscatine, under which for years, in territorial days, the immigrants camped, while my humble home sheltered the women and the children of the party, and around the fireside did my wife, an early settler, lend a hand in cooking the evening meal. This was the way the pioneers and the old settlers came, and when they reached the claim which the husband

and father had made in the preceding year, there they camped again until the cabin, the log cabin, could be raised to shelter them.

TOUR THROUGH THE TERRITORY

It was the mid-summer of 1838, when Governor Lucas set out on his tour of visitation to spy out the land and meet the people whose government he was to administer. It was my pleasure to accompany him as his secretary. We set out by steamer for Dubuque, stopping at all the little way stations long enough to go ashore and greet the crowd that came to welcome the steamer.

As we neared a little town up north in Jackson county (if it has an existence now, it has changed its old name, which no longer appears upon the map), seeing a crowd of twenty or more gathered in front of a small low building on the river's bank, we asked the captain "the cause of the assemblage." "This is election day," said the captain, "and the people are to vote for a delegate to congress and members of the territorial legislature; would you gentlemen care to vote?" The governor said, "Yes," and of course I said, "Amen," as it was a joyous privilege going forth from the steamer that afternoon a boy and returning to her decks a full-fledged man, after having deposited my first ballot. Not being residents of the county, we were permitted to vote only for the delegate.

Dubuque we reached in due season, and tarried several days, making many pleasant acquaintances. At the hotel at which we stopped there was a young man of some twenty-five years of age, who had a table in the public room of the house, upon which he had spread maps, charts and diagrams with manuscript notes, and a published pamphlet descriptive of a railroad from the lakes at Chicago to the Pacific ocean. (It must be borne in mind that this was ten years before California became a part of the United States, and twenty years before the project of a continental railway had received such conception in the brain

of eastern engineers as to lead them to put upon paper their crude ideas, if any they had formed.)

It was said by the villagers that "the young man was crazy," and I remember the governor thought "he was visionary," while I did not give much thought to the subject, but did admire the young man's enthusiasm in the cause he had espoused. The nearest railroads to the Mississippi river at that time had their termini at Buffalo and Pittsburg, and when, thirty years later, upon the completion of the great railway system, practically and substantially over the line mapped out by that young man, I recalled those days as I crossed the mountain and hastened to gaze upon the setting sun beneath the waves of the Pacific.

PLUMBE'S PIONEERING OF PACIFIC ROUTE

That young man's name was John Plumbé, Jr., and he, and he alone, is the author, the promulgator and the advocate of a transcontinental line from the lakes to the ocean. You never hear his name, and I doubt very much whether one of my auditors today ever heard it, while the names of the men who twenty years later surveyed the route he had foreshadowed, and constructed the railway, have their names emblazoned upon monuments erected upon the highest mountain peaks and embalmed in the history of railways and of the nation.

Upon our return we traveled by wagon, escorted by the farmers, through and over the country, stopping at Bellevue, in Jackson county, Lyons and Camanche, in Clinton county (the town of Clinton had not then a being, was not even a germ in the womb of time).

We made a considerable stay at Davenport, where we met the celebrated Antoine LeClaire, the founder of the city, the owner of a section of land at the foot of the Upper Rapids, given him by congress for services as an interpreter of the Sac and Fox nations, who in the treaty a few years previous (1832) had ceded the Black Hawk purchase of the Iowa district to the national government. It was Mr. LeClaire's

boast that he was the "first white man" who had ever had his home in Iowa, even antedating Julien Dubuque; he called himself a "white man"—his mother was a full half-blooded Sac Indian, his father a Frenchman, so one-fourth of the blood that coursed through his veins was aboriginal blood.

During this visit, a little country boy from a neighboring farm came in and said he "would like to see the governor." He had never seen a governor and wanted to know how such a man looked. The governor took quite an interest in the little fellow, and I well remember the incident, and have oftentimes since with the grown lad laughed over it. His name was John F. Dillon, so well known to our citizens as the first United States circuit judge for the circuit of which Iowa constitutes an integral part. It was of such farmer boys we made men and judges in those days.

We also tarried at Muscatine a little later. A gentleman of much notoriety and worth, Judge Rorer of this city (Burlington), had preceded us and written a description of the village over the signature of "Wolverine Among the Hawkeyes," although he never had seen Michigan, the state of the "Wolverines." He described the lots of the embryo town as "standing on end," and his description was not far out of the way, for it has as many hills and more valleys than the ancient city of Rome, and at that day there was not a single block within its limits around which you could drive a country wagon—there were no buggies in the country at that early day.

MEETING OF LUCAS AND KEOKUK

At Agency, we were met by Keokuk, the grandest specimen of the physical man I have ever seen; a man of great natural ability, fine oratorical talent, eloquent as Cicero, logical as Webster, and the beautiful metaphors he used in his speeches he borrowed from nature, ready on all hands to bestow upon him her

gifts; he did not steal them from some orator more eloquent though less renowned than himself.

Black Hawk, who had led in the war of his name, had been defeated at the battle of Bad-axe, in Wisconsin. The Sac and Fox Indians ceded in the treaty of 1832 the "Black Hawk Purchase," a strip of about thirty miles in width bordering the Mississippi river on the west, and which constituted the Iowa of 1833-40. Black Hawk had taken part in the celebration of Fourth of July of this year, 1838, at Fort Madison, and his speech has been published in our county histories and in the ANNALS OF IOWA. He died the 3d of October, 1838, and was buried in the northeast corner of Davis county, north of the Des Moines river, near where he lived at the time of his death.

If we traveled in primitive style, it must be borne in mind that those were primitive days, and that we were plain people, the governor himself a farmer all his life. What would you think today, after more than fifty years, to see Governor Drake, our illustrious chief magistrate, coming from Des Moines, a much less distance, and journeying all the way in an open farm wagon to witness and participate in this grand celebration?

GOVERNOR IN A FARM WAGON

The last of our state governors ever known to travel in a country wagon over the highway was Governor Grimes, who in 1854 set out on an electioneering tour; he traveled on foot, a wise and shrewd scheme of his own to win the country vote, in which he was remarkably successful.

Having an appointment to speak at Andrew, in Jackson county, he was overtaken some miles distant from it by a countryman with a load of his neighbors journeying in their farm wagon to the county seat; they asked the stranger if he would ride. Weary of travel and sore of foot, he gladly accepted the invitation and took a seat beside the driver, who was a lively, talkative man, quite well informed upon

general subjects. He said that he and his companions were going to the neighboring town to hear a candidate who was running for governor, his name was, he said, Grimes, and they wondered whether he wore a coat like "old Grimes, all buttoned down before." Grimes never let on, but said he, too, was bound for the same place and the same purpose and, like them, had quite a curiosity to hear the gentleman of whom he had heard a great deal, and in whose canvass he felt a very considerable interest, a personal interest.

The speaker and candidate was not known to the good people he was about to visit, and so was not met by a committee, as is usual in these later days. Arriving at the place, he found quite a goodly number assembled around the speaker's stand. Making himself known to some of those who appeared to be officious, he was escorted to the platform (temporized for the occasion), and commenced his address to "the dear people."

Grimes, while the brainiest and ablest man that Iowa has produced, was withal, a man of eloquence, also possessed great tact, with a large knowledge of human nature. He made a telling speech, as he always did, and when through, the first man to greet him (this story I have from Grimes' own lips) was the farmer who had so kindly borne him on his journey, with the remark, "I will vote for you, governor, and so will my neighbors, though we are all Democrats; we like you, a plain man like ourselves, and we like your speech." He emphasized in a peculiar way the force of his declaration; I will not use his language, but as he was a true follower of General Jackson, I may venture the assertion that he swore, as General Jackson always swore, "by the eternal." It was the votes of those yeomen of the land that made Grimes governor and later senator in the service of the state and nation, and no abler or better man ever received the votes of the people.

FOUND HIGH TYPE OF CITIZENS

Of the character of pioneers, I will quote from our

pioneer governor, who was most competent to affirm whereof he knew. At the banquet given him by the citizens of Burlington the first year of the arrival of Governor Lucas, and after his first tour through the territory, in his response to an address of welcome he said that he had "supposed that the population of the territory was the same as is generally found in frontier settlements—hospitable, yet rude. In this he was agreeably disappointed," he said, "for in intelligence and enterprise it was his firm conviction, based upon extensive observation since his arrival, that the people of the territory would compare with any of the western, aye, and some of the eastern states. With a people of this character it would be," he said, "his great pleasure to cooperate in the framing of its laws and in laying the foundation upon which the future state of Iowa should stand."

And who were the people of whom he spoke? They were the early immigrants, the pioneers who came from the New England states, the younger generation directly, the older having emigrated from the East at an earlier date, and located for a time in either of the Middle States of that period, and there remained long enough to become somewhat westernized. They were from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Then there was an element of chivalry, descendants of the old cavaliers of Virginia, some of whom had come through "the dark and bloody ground" experience of Kentucky and Tennessee; these were found mostly in the southern portion of the territory. There were in the northern portion of the territory a few of the sons of the Emerald Isle, who brought with them the patriotic inheritance, love of liberty of the Grattans, the Emmetts and others of that ill-fated land.

There were in those days none of the hardy followers of the Norsemen who conquered England and first discovered America; nor yet the descendants of Arminius and his brave followers of the black forests of

Germany, who conquered Rome; or the descendants of Huss, of Prague, the first one of the reformers. It was when the state had been builded that these men came from Germany, Scandinavia, Bohemia and Northern Europe, worthy descendants of noble ancestors, and they have united in beautifying the state builded for them, and have ever been recognized as among our best, most enterprising and conservative citizens.

Old Des Moines River Beds

It is hard to think of the Des Moines river, with its wooded banks and clear waters, as having ever been a small edition of the muddy Missouri; but that is what it was many years ago—at least not many years ago as geological time is measured. Not only was it muddy and dirty and ugly to the sight, but its channel was as shiftty as that of the “Big Muddy.” The mound-builder who went to bed at night on the bank of the Des Moines didn’t have the least assurance that the river would be anywhere in the neighborhood when he woke up in the morning.

The fact is that the river wandered around over pretty much the whole surface of Polk county, at one time or another in the last 8,000 years; and the geological evidences are that the channel now occupied is almost entirely different from the original one that was formed when the glacier melted. In Polk county there are many miles of old river bed, and it is believed, although the geological evidences have not been so carefully examined in other counties, that the same is true in the counties to the north and south.

The state geological survey long ago made report on the geology of Polk county, and it was issued about 1898. The work was done by H. F. Bain, associate geologist, and represented one of the most complete and careful examinations that has been made of any county in the state.

Comparatively speaking, the Des Moines is a new

river. There probably was no such stream till after the big Wisconsin glacier melted, and the river formed along the southeastern line of the great sheet of ice, to carry off the waters. At first it was an ill-defined series of ponds and rivulets, but in time it developed into a distinct stream. Its main channel, however, changed at frequent intervals; old courses were deserted in a day, when the water was high, and new ones were cut by the rushing torrents.

The beautiful valley of the Beaver, famed among people who know the attractive drives of Polk county as one of the handsomest valleys in this part of the state, was once the valley of the Des Moines. Drive out on the Beaver road, and it will be found that for miles the original highway traversed the crest of a ridge. On the east can be seen the valley of the present Des Moines river; on the west is the valley of the Beaver. The latter is in many ways the more beautiful; its timber is magnificent, and the valley is a wide and sweeping one, with well marked flood plains; whereas the present valley of the river is poorly marked, geologically, and bears evidences which to the geologist at once indicate that it is a comparatively new channel.

The old Beaver valley was once the channel of the Des Moines, and it was undoubtedly a larger and far more beautiful stream before it changed to the new course. Estimates of the time since the change to the new channel are of course uncertain, but it is known from the evidence presented by the deposits that the change is a modern one—perhaps the Beaver was the main river within time reached by historical records; in all probability the old valley was the main one within 8,000 years, according to Mr. Bain.

The ancient river came down the Beaver valley to the present point of junction with the modern stream, and from this point followed the present course for two or three miles; then it struck off

nearly direct to the east, instead of turning south as the present stream does, and passed around to the east of what is now known as Highland Park. The south branch of Saylor's creek was probably the main channel for some distance. Leaving this, the stream passed around east of the city, and near the present state fair grounds turned south again and effected a junction with the present channel again somewhere not far from Avon.

It is not difficult to believe that the Beaver may have once been the main river, but the layman will not find it so easy to believe that the river once swung around from northeast of Highland park, through what is now the East Side to the state fair grounds. And yet the geologists say there is no doubt whatever that this is true. There may even have been men here when the change was made.

The James Madison Papers

The work of editing and publishing a new and complete edition of the letters and papers of President James Madison and his wife Dolly Madison is being sponsored by the University of Chicago and the University of Virginia. Among those constituting the advisory board for the project is Irving Brant formerly of Iowa City, the well known author of "James Madison, Father of the Constitution," now in several volumes.

Information about the location of letters by or to James Madison or his wife, especially letters in private possession or among uncalendared manuscripts in the collections of public or private institutions should be addressed to The Papers of James Madison, 1126 East 59th street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Early Settler Aided in Organization and Growth of Humboldt

BY S. H. TAFT*

Iowa was just beginning its marvelous development when I came to the state from New York in September, 1862. Already it had just four short railroad lines extending west from the Mississippi; one to Cedar Falls, one to Marshalltown, one to Iowa City, and one to Bentonsport. I came to Iowa by invitation and spent a few days at the beautiful and delightful home of Gen. T. J. Townsend, of Dubuque, who was then surveyor general of the state. From him I gained much valuable information in regard to the natural resources of the various sections of the state.

On leaving Dubuque, I came into the upper Des Moines valley. I had left the East with the definite purpose of acquiring land on which, with a colony of friends, I could build up a town, organize a Christian Union church with the simple creed of love to God and man, and establish an undenominational college. While I am grateful for the measure of success which has been attained, I admit to a doubt whether the work would have been entered upon could I have known from the beginning of the physical exposures, mental anxieties, disappointments and financial losses (the latter chiefly from floods) and the college work which have attended it. The limitation of this article precludes me from saying anything regarding the

*The Rev. S. H. Taft's original home in New York was at Pierce Point Manor in Jefferson county, a minister with high order of ability and much energy. His wife was M. A. Burnham at time of their marriage. Their son, William J. Taft became a leading lawyers of Humboldt and later lived at Fort Dodge, Iowa, born October 27, 1855, and moved with his parents from Pierce Point Manor to Martinsburg, Lewis county, New York in 1857, and thence to Iowa in 1862. William J. Taft was at one time mayor of Humboldt and also county attorney, later in partnership with A. E. Clarke, who was division attorney of the Minneapolis and St. Louis railroad. Within two years Mr. Taft was appointed general solicitor of the railroad which necessitated his removal to Minneapolis.

religious and educational work with which I have been associated.

With T. T. Rogers, I came west from Martinsburg, New York, traveling through Dubuque and Waterloo, Iowa, in the harvest time of 1862. Leaving Waterloo, we drove to Fort Dodge, looking for a desirable place to locate and establish a settlement. We took a trip up the Lizard creek, but not being favorably impressed, started for Dakota City expecting to find a town, but only found a few board shanties with stove pipes sticking through the roofs with not a single chimney in the whole town. We had a hearty laugh over Dakota City and started out the next morning prospecting, wanting to find a suitable place for building a saw and grist mill.

Driving up and down the river looking for suitable water power, we concluded to look for government land. John Craig went out with us, taking along surveyor instruments for establishing corners. We located a number of tracts for ourselves and friends. We marked these entries by laying four stones and then having four rails on top of the stones. We spent the week driving over the country and entering claims for ten sections of land; then went back to Fort Dodge and filed those claims. On examination it was found that the question of title to the land was in dispute, it being claimed by the Dubuque and Sioux City Railroad company, although that company had failed to build the railroad line which the bill granting it land rights had required; however, I contracted with Platt Smith, vice president of that company, for ten sections of land in consideration of which I was to pay the government price of \$1.25 per acre, put up a grist mill with no less than two run of buhrs; said improvements to cost not less than \$3,000 and the purchaser to sell a large portion of the land at such reasonable price as would induce early settlement.

COLONY FOR NEW TOWN

In the spring, Mr. Rogers and I returned east and

I brought back with me from central New York a colony of over a dozen families, which was largely added to in succeeding years. As the feeling between the Union men and the "copperheads" ran high in those days, much interest was felt regarding the political sentiment and character of the members of the colony, and a leading southern sympathizer of Fort Dodge reported that we were "a company of black abolitionists," which was true except as to color.

SOUGHT LEGISLATIVE RELIEF

During the winter, I had learned that the land for which I had contracted lay outside the limit of the grant to the railroad and Mr. Platte Smith suggested that it would fall to the Keokuk, Fort Des Moines and Minnesota Railroad company. I then went to Keokuk to look into that matter. I could not perfect my title. Under these embarrassing circumstances I resolved to seek relief through the state legislature.

I went to Des Moines, a stranger to everybody in the city, except Judge C. C. Cole, whom I met in Keokuk when there to contract for the land. He introduced me to leading members of the legislature and I laid my case before them. I shall never cease to be grateful for the deep and intelligent interest they all took in my enterprise. In a few days a resolution had passed both houses and received the executive sanction, which authorized the governor to convey the land directly to me on my paying the purchase money into the state treasury.

It thus turned out that what at first seemed a serious difficulty proved a blessing in disguise, as my visit to the state capital gave me the acquaintance and helpful cooperation of many of the legislators and other leading men of the state. Among these I call to mind Governor Stone, B. F. Gue, L. S. Coffin, Dr. McGown, Senator Harlan, Judge Wright, Judge Hubbard, Judge Charles, John Scott, Governor Larrabee, Governor Merrill, Governor Carpenter, Charles Aldrich, H. G. Parker, J. B. Power, Judge Oliver, Judge Adams,

Professor Abernathy, and others. It is to these men and their compatriots that Iowa is indebted for the leading place it has so quickly attained among the states of the Union.

On reaching our destination in May, 1863, I moved into a building erected years before by a pre-emptor who had fled from fear of Indians and abandoned his claim. The building stood on land embraced in my purchase. It was twelve feet long by sixteen feet wide, one story high, built of boards made of native lumber nailed onto ribs and battened. In this I lived with a family of six (besides boarding much hired help) from May to Christmas day, 1864.

RIGORS OF AN IOWA WINTER

The winter of 1863-4 will ever be remembered as the cold winter. We would in the morning sweep up and carry out the snow which had sifted in during the night, and kept a sheep skin under our bed to put out and stand upon while dressing. In November, 1864, by reason of over-work and exposure from watching the sick, as there were many cases of typhoid fever at this time, Mrs. Taft was prostrated with the disease in a very severe form, being delirious from the first and continuing unconscious for over two weeks. It was often so cold in the house that water standing in a cup by the bedside would freeze. I frequently watched by her with my overcoat on with a warm stone in my lap for my hands and another at my feet. I kept hot bricks in the bed and on the pillow near her head.

The children (we had three then) would come to the beside in the morning, push aside the curtain, look at their mother and go away with sad faces as she failed to greet them. The youngest, a boy three years old, was the first one to be made glad by Mrs. Taft's return to consciousness. During the night previous to the incident of which I speak, Mrs. Taft had slept more restfully than at any time before, so I had hoped and even expected to see an improvement

in her condition. I was making preparation for breakfast when the little fellow came from his bed, climbed up in a chair and got behind the curtain, seeing which I hastened to the bed lest he should disturb her sleep, when he turned his face all aglow with delight, exclaiming, "Pa, 'ma look good at me." The fever had broken and reason had returned.

On three separate occasions since that time, Mrs. Taft has been brought near to death's door by the hardships and over-taxation attendant upon our pioneer work.

TOWN NOW HUMBOLDT PLATTED

I laid out the town of Springvale now Humboldt, in the spring of 1864. The name Springvale was given to it by Mrs. Taft on account of the natural springs in the locality. Two or three small buildings which had been put up on the prairie by preemptors and abandoned, were at first moved in upon the town plat for residences. But the first new building erected was raised in November, 1864, on the day Lincoln was elected president the second time. In the winter of 1864-65 a number of families lived in cellars covered over with boards.

The foundation of the mill and a portion of the dam was put in during the summer and autumn of 1864. G. W. Mitchell of Fort Dodge and A. D. Bicknell put up the walls of the mill. The piers and dam were completed during the winter of 1864-5, but before the head gates were put in place, a February freshet undermined the southwest corner of the wall. In spite of the difficulties, work on the mill had progressed and the saw mill was in operation in the summer of 1864. At first when coming west, we ground our wheat and coffee with large coffee mills which we had brought with us. When the dam was built and the water was under control, I attached the saw mill power to an iron corn cracker, with which thousands of bushels of wheat and corn were ground, the settlers coming from great distances for their grinding.

The completion of the mill and the making of bolted flour in February, 1865, was celebrated with a public supper, to which several hundred persons came to eat biscuit made of flour manufactured in Humboldt county. Toasts were drunk in cold water and coffee, speeches were made and cheers given in honor of the occasion. Loads of grain came to the mill drawn by two and three yokes of oxen, much force being required to cross the sloughs which were then not bridged. Grain was brought from over a hundred miles from the north and west.

SWAM STREAMS IN FLOOD TIME

Before the rivers and other streams were bridged, I used to swim them in flood time when necessary, sometimes on horseback and sometimes with my team. I call to mind one occasion when driving with Hon. J. D. Springer across the prairies to Sac City to attend a political convention, we came to a stream which was so flooded that we could not ascertain where the banks were cut down for the ford. In order to surmount the difficulty Mr. Springer made me the custodian of his hat and clothes and swam out in search of the crossing place, on finding which he signaled me to come, which I did, after putting the clothes and my satchel on the seat and putting my feet in position to readily move to the right or left in balancing the carriage, and then made the crossing safely, when Mr. Springer joined me and we proceeded on our way.

There was an attempt made to unite Dakota City and Humboldt, which was a rational thing to do, but one of the proprietors of Dakota City refused. Then followed a period of rivalry and bickering between the two prospective towns, and while the people were spending their energy on this disturbing question, the spring freshets came on in 1867 and an ice gorge took out the dam, suspending operations for six months. The same day the price of flour advanced from \$6.00 to \$10.00 per hundred.

The year 1867 was called the starvation year among the settlers, as there was not enough bread in this part of the state to feed the people and there was little with which to buy it. It was with great difficulty that provisions were obtained to feed the large force employed in cutting a new mill race and putting in a new dam a half mile further up the river, which was done at a cost of some \$18,000. This was a great undertaking considering the time, the tools with which they had to work, the scarcity of labor, the limestone rock through which they must cut and the long distance.

I can never forget the scene attending the arrival of the last load of flour before the mill commenced grinding again. I had sent the load up from Fort Dodge, driving up myself a little later, and came into town just as the load was approaching my house. Between forty and fifty hands were at work on the race, who, sighting the load, dropped shovels, picks, and wheel barrows and ran toward it, while those having teams on wagons drove rapidly toward the house. Some were expressing their joy by shouting and some by weeping. I reached the wagon just in time to obtain control of two fifty pound sacks, saying to those who would have taken them, "I must obtain this much of the load, since I have the largest family and am almost out of bread."

The event of reopening the mill was made the occasion of a celebration equal in interest to the first one.

ATTRACTIVENESS OF THE AREA

In beauty of location, Humboldt is not excelled by that of any other town in the state. It is laid out with parks and broad streets and avenues, chiefly named after the leading reformer civilians and generals then living. The town has water works of the more valuable character. It has become an important business and educational center. Its businessmen, in energy and financial standing, are of high order. It has one of the most perfectly equipped flouring mills in the

state. The town has five churches, all working harmoniously together. Its public school edifice is the pride of its citizens, while the three beautiful college buildings crowning the bluff at the head of Garrett Smith avenue would be an honor and ornament to any town.

In 1868, I was the presidential elector for the great Sixth district, which embraced one-third of the state, in canvassing which I travelled from State Center on the east to the Missouri river on the west, and from the Northwestern railroad on the south to the north line of the state. Except along the line of the Northwestern road, I traveled with my own team, often driving many hours without seeing a residence or meeting a human being. On passing over this beautiful and fertile section of the state now, it is difficult to believe that it was a wild uncultivated region so short a time ago.

The progress in material development and political prestige which Iowa has made in fifty years is unsurpassed by any other state.

End of Summer

A harsher wind, a gentler sun,
Bring to mind that summer's done.

A softer haze on ocean's rim,
Shortening days and twilights dim—

All these portend to one at play,
Now is the end of holiday.

The hours that creep 'twixt marsh and dune,
Half lulled to sleep by the waves' tune,

Soon run their course with the ebb tide,
And I perforce leave the sweet seaside.

Another year at summer's end
May find me here where the myrtles bend.

All winter long I'll hear as now
A mockingbird's song on a live-oak bough.

—Thomas H. English in the Emory University Quarterly

The Transition of Iowa from Territory to State¹

BY WM. H. FLEMING

The territory of Iowa was only about a year old when talk of statehood began to be indulged in. In his message to the Second legislative assembly, Governor Robert Lucas recommended that congress be memorialized to pass a bill authorizing the people of the territory to form a constitution and state government, and to provide for the state's admission into the Union. He went on to point out what he thought "the most natural boundaries for our state."

The following summer the legislature provided for submitting to the people the question of holding a convention to draft a constitution for the government of the proposed state. The people then (1840) voted down the project by a decided majority.

When the Fourth legislative assembly met (1841), Governor John Chambers expressed the opinion that there had been a sufficient change in the popular sentiment to warrant a resubmission of the question to the

¹ An informative excerpt from a manuscript in the archives of the Iowa State Department of History and Archives. The author, William Henry Fleming, was born in New York City April 14, 1833, and died in Des Moines, Iowa, October 14, 1923. In 1847, he began as an apprentice in the printing trade in the office of the *Christian Intelligencer* in New York City. In 1854, he removed to Davenport, Iowa, and for several years worked on papers there, principally the *Davenport Gazette*, eventually becoming city editor. Some time during the Civil war he was employed by Adjutant General N. B. Baker in his office in Clinton. He removed to Des Moines in 1867 and became private secretary to Governor Samuel Merrill. He acted in that capacity not only for Merrill but also for Governors Kirkwood, Newbold, Gear, Drake and Shaw. At intervals he became deputy state auditor, did much other special work about the state house, holding official positions with several general assemblies, and did newspaper and historical writing. From 1902 to 1907, he held a position in the United States Treasury Department under Secretary L. M. Shaw, after which service he was upon the staff in the Iowa State Historical Department at Des Moines, and served as secretary of the Pioneer Lawmakers Association of Iowa.—Editor.

people.² This was accordingly done, and with the same result—every county in the territory giving a majority in the negative. This was in 1842.

The governor was still urgent for admission, and he recommended in his message of December, 1843, that the question be again voted on, and that congress be asked to establish a boundary for the state, and to sanction the holding of a constitutional convention. The legislature passed the bill for taking the popular vote, which was done in 1844, and this time the friends of statehood were successful.

A convention was chosen consisting of seventy members. Among them were ex-Governor Lucas, James Clarke, who was afterwards governor of the territory, Ralph P. Lowe, destined to be governor of the state and judge of its district and supreme courts; Elisha Cutler, Jr., of Van Buren, and Elijah Sells of Muscatine county, afterwards secretaries of the state; Jonathan C. Hall, also a judge of the state supreme court; James Grant, long prominent at the bar and speaker in the Fourth general assembly; Stephen B. Shelledy, speaker in the Seventh; Thomas J. McKean, a graduate of the military academy, and one of the leaders of the Whig party; besides others more or less prominent in later days. Of all the members of that convention, it is believed that only Gideon S. Bailey of Van Buren county, who is also the last survivor of the First legislative assembly, is living at this writing.

² Both Governor Lucas and Governor Chambers of Iowa Territory recommended that statehood be attained. Lucas suggested boundaries similar to those of the present state. Vote of April 1, 1844, in the territory favored holding a constitutional convention with 6,719 for and 3,074 against. The convention opened October 7 following, adopted a proposed constitution with boundaries of state to be substantially as recommended by Governor Lucas and adjourned November 1. The proposed constitution was presented in congress December 9 for the large state, but a congressional committee recommended a reduced area, the western limits to extend only to west side of what is now Dallas county, though did include two tiers of counties now a part of Minnesota, which bill passed congress, but the small-state area was rejected by Iowa voters April 7, 1845. Insistance by the people of Iowa upon the large-state boundaries resulted in congress finally accepting same, and the new state of Iowa was admitted to the Union upon signing of the act of congress by Pres. James K. Polk on December 28, 1846.—Editor.

It was this convention that adopted the boundaries recommended by Governor Lucas. The constitution formulated by it had a stringent clause providing that stockholders in all corporations should be individually liable for all the debts of the same. It had a provision also that would have made it difficult to construct railroads or telegraph or telephone lines unless by the state. That provision forbade the taking of private property by any corporation other than a municipality. The proposed constitution was not, however, as severe on banking as was the one under which the state entered the Union. The latter entirely prohibited banks. The former permitted the chartering of banks, but the charters must be approved by popular vote. The capital was to remain at Iowa City until 1865, and until removed by law.

On the 9th of December, 1844, the proposed constitution was presented in the senate of the United States by Benjamin Tappan of Ohio. Three days afterwards Delegate A. C. Dodge submitted it in the house. A brief partisan debate followed on the question of reference—the Whigs wanting it to go to the judiciary committee, while the Democrats would send it to the committee on territories, whither it went.

COUPLED IOWA AND FLORIDA

On January 7, 1845, Aaron V. Brown of Tennessee, presented from the committee on territories a bill for the admission of Iowa and Florida into the Union. Provision was made for dividing the latter into two states in process of time, notwithstanding the fact that the whole peninsula hadn't then more than about one-fourth as much population as had Iowa. The object was to make provision for "preserving the balance" between the free and the slave states, a favorite idea with the temporizing statesmen of the time.

During the discussion on the bill, Alexander Duncan, an Ohio Democrat, moved to make the northern and western lines of the state to run respectively

east and west from a point at the junction of the Blue Earth and St. Peters, or Minnesota river, being about two miles from where the town of Mankato now stands. Dr. Duncan said in defense of his proposition that the boundaries proposed by him comprised an area that contained double and treble the amount of "valuable land" to be found in either Missouri or Virginia. He introduced a statement of the topographical engineer, stating that the boundaries he proposed inclosed an area as large as Ohio or New York, and "larger in point of fertility of soil than any two states in the United States."

Samuel F. Vinton, a leading Whig from Ohio, supported the amendment urging that there ought to be smaller states in the west, where, he said, the spirit of disunion would never live, and which section, he said, would hold the Union together. The amendment was adopted, and the bill was further amended by striking out the provision for two states in Florida.

A spicy debate sprang up on a motion by a Maine man to compel the amendment of the Florida constitution by striking therefrom a clause prohibiting emancipation, and another empowering the legislature to prohibit free negroes from coming into the state, and their being discharged from vessels in the ports of Florida. A Georgian met the suggestion with an amendment to strike from the Iowa constitution its prohibition of slavery. Both amendments were voted down, and the bill was passed 145 to 45. Most of the negative votes were cast by northern Whigs whose opposition was mainly occasioned by the coupling of Florida with Iowa.

In the senate, the Whig majority sent the bill to the judiciary committee February 24. John M. Berrien, senator from Georgia, reported the bill from that committee. On the 1st of March, it was taken up for consideration. The debate here turned entirely upon the Florida constitution. The leading northern Whigs opposed the passage of the bill in the shape in which

it was presented. Rufus Choate said the joint legislation by which it was sought to bring the two states in together was of an extraordinary character. It had never been done before. It was a great injustice to him and his friends to be compelled to vote against the bill. They could not conscientiously sanction what they could not approve in one of the constitutions now presented, although they would gladly open their arms to receive the other state into the family embrace.

An attempt to strike from the Florida constitution the offensive clauses received the support of only 12 senators, all northern Whigs, while 11 Whigs and 24 Democrats voted against it. The bill then passed by 35 to 9, the latter all northern Whigs. It received the signature of John Tyler March 4.

IOWANS OPPOSED SMALLER AREA

In the month of April the people of Iowa rejected the constitution with the area limits set by congress. The Seventh territorial legislature provided for a vote upon the constitution as it came from the hands of the convention. The vote was again unfavorable, the friends of the measure numbering only 7,235 against 7,656.

Thus matters stood for several months. Meantime, it was proposed to make the forty-second parallel the northern boundary, which would have given the state an area about the same as that of Indiana and a shape like that of Tennessee. North of the new state was planned a territory to be called "Dakota."

Early in 1846, Delegate Dodge introduced a bill to define the boundaries of Iowa. March 27, 1846, Stephen A. Douglas reported the bill from the committee on territories, with an amendment fixing the boundaries as they are now. Julius Rockwell of Massachusetts proposed the forty-second parallel for the northern boundary. Douglas said that was a scheme of Dubuque people to make their town the largest in a new state. Rockwell said that he agreed with the people of Dubuque when they said that the lines pro-

posed for Iowa would not leave room enough for another state on the Mississippi river; Vinton preferred the boundaries which the people rejected. He was led to believe that no part of the United States possessed an equal capacity for maintaining an immense population. It was certainly equal to, if not greater than, that of any other part of the West. In addition, Iowa enjoyed hydraulic facilities equal to those of any other state.

The bill passed the house in the month of June. August 1 it passed the senate without opposition. It was signed by the president August 4, just one day after the people had adopted the new constitution, in which the boundaries were described as in the act of congress. The popular vote was 9,492 against 9,036.

December 16, Delegate Dodge laid the new constitution before the house. December 17, Douglas, from the committee on territories, introduced a bill for admission of Iowa. Four days later the bill passed the house. The senate passed it December 24 and it was signed by the president four days later. Next day, December 29, Shepherd Leffler and Serranus Clinton Hastings presented their credentials as representatives and took the oath of office and their seats. No senators appeared for two years, owing to the inability of the two houses of the Iowa legislature to agree on a time to hold the election for senators, after one abortive meeting had been held.

Seek Co-operation First

There is a point, of course, where a man must take the isolated peak and break with all his associates for clear principle; but until that time comes he must work, if he would be of use, with men as they are. As long as the good in them overbalances the evil, let him work with them for the best that can be obtained.—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Sioux Indians Harassed the Early Iowa Settlers

BY HARVEY INGHAM

Fort Dodge was established as the frontier outpost of northern Iowa in 1850, just four years after Fort Des Moines was abandoned. Fort Des Moines was located in 1843 and occupied by troops until 1846, the years during which the Sacs and Foxes were removed from the state to Kansas. Between the occupancy of the two forts the Sioux came conspicuously into notice, driving out every white man who attempted to push into their territory, and trying to stem the tide of immigration to the northwest.

The event which more than any other had to do with the establishment of a new fort was old Sidominadotah's attack upon Marsh, the surveyor, in 1848. Sidominadotah is one of the conspicuous figures in our pioneer history. He was a brother of Inkpadutah, and leader of a band of Wahpecoute outlaws. He was commonly called Chief Two Fingers, having lost the remainder of his right hand in battle.

Major Williams knew him well and left an accurate description of him: "Sidominadotah was a man about 5 feet 10 in height, stout and well formed, very active, had a piercing eye, broad face and high cheek bones." The major adds an item to the description which certainly entitles Sidominadotah to be called the man with the iron jaw, "both rows of teeth were double all around in both jaws, and united, forming solid rows in both upper and lower jaws." A dentist could have paid off all of the old scores of the white race in one sitting. When killed he was 45 or 50 years old. He evidently was the leader of all the bands of the northern Iowa Sioux at that time, or at least held a prominent place among the leaders, for nearly all the attacks upon the whites who began to

invade the territory north and west of Des Moines were led by him. '

Marsh was engaged in running the United States survey and had come from Dubuque. He was working north of the forks of the Des Moines river within a few miles of Fort Dodge, on the west side, when Sidominadotah told him to "puckachee," which in Shakespearean English meant to go, and stand not on the order of his going. But Marsh was not alarmed and proceeded with the survey. At that Sidominadotah broke all his instruments, robbed him and his party, and smashed the wagons. Marsh was then glad to retire, although it is recorded that Mrs. Marsh favored fight—the only one of the entire party with any nerve.

Marsh made a report to the government which, taken with reports of other outrages, caused the order to bring troops into the northwest. It was in the same year of 1848 that Sidominadotah drove Lott out of Webster county and also made a raid on the Merri-
rick families at the Boone forks.

NEW FORT LOCATED

Brigadier General Mason was ordered in 1849 to locate the new fort as nearly as possible at the northwest corner of the neutral ground. He chose the site where the city of Fort Dodge now stands, and named the new post Fort Clarke. In 1851 General Winfield Scott changed the name to Fort Dodge in honor of General Henry Dodge, Company E of the Sixth infantry, U.S.A., and came from Fort Snelling to occupy it. With the company Major William Williams came as sutler.

When the pioneer history of northwestern Iowa is written, Major Williams will be the central figure. Every early settler recalls him. He was part of all that happened in the early years. The first store in Algona was established by him and his son, James B. Williams, H. F. Watson coming later from Fort Dodge to take charge of it. When after three years

and a half Fort Dodge was abandoned and the troops were ordered north to build Fort Ridgely, he remained, and buying the ground and buildings of the dismantled fortifications, founded the city which perpetuates its name. Major Williams was associated intimately with all the stirring events along the entire frontier, and the only accurate record that remains of many of them is to be found in the pages of his beautifully written manuscript and in the columns of the pioneer newspapers, for which he liberally contributed. He died in 1874.

During the years of occupancy of the fort, Major Williams became acquainted with the various Sioux bands and their leaders. He has left very interesting descriptions of the latter. His estimate of the character of the outfit tallies with that before given of the Wahpecoute: "The Sioux Indians," he says, "who inhabited this district of country were the most desperate characters, made up of renegades from all the bands. They were generally very active, stout Indians, great horsemen. The majority of them were well armed with guns. They always had in their possession horses and mules with white men's brands. They generally encamped on high ground where they couldn't be easily surprised, and when any number of them were together, they encamped in a circle. They were very expert hunters. Their famous leaders, Sidominadotah and Inkpadutah, were very stout, active men, also Titonka and Umpashotah, indeed all of them."

Of Inkpadutah, who led in the Spirit Lake massacre, and who was present in person at the raid on Mr. Call and the settlers south of Algona in 1855, he says: Inkpadutah is about 55 years old, about 5 feet 11 in height, stoutly built, broad shoulders, large head and broad face, high cheek bones, sunken and very black sparkling eyes, big mouth, light copper color, and pock marked in the face."

Umpashotah is of scarcely less interest, as he is the

Indian who visited with W. H. Ingham three days on the upper Des Moines, when each one was figuring on who was in charge of the expedition, and his name also is associated with the legend of Spirit Lake. Of him Major Williams records:

"Umpashotah, or Umpaga, (Smoky Day) is a very good looking Indian, about 5 feet 10 in height, complexion light yellow, a good forehead, high cheek bones, large dark eyes, aquiline nose and well formed mouth. He has a fine set of teeth, which he shows to good advantage, has an exceedingly cunning expression of the eyes, professes to be a doctor, age about 45 to 50, and very fond of trading."

Another chief of the Sioux outlaws was Titonka. Of him the major says: "Titonka, Big Buffalo, is over 6 feet high, very well made and very active. His walk is very erect and elastic, long face, aquiline nose, very dark complexion, eye sparkling when aroused, looks very demure when not excited, wears his hair long, cheek bones painted. When excited, he is a hard looking customer."

These chiefs belonged to the outlaw Sioux. Ish-ta-ha-bah, or Young Sleepy Eyes, was connected by marriage only, but had brought a band from the Little Rock Sioux and was living along the Des Moines with them. Ish-ta-ha-bah was 50 years old, with pleasant face, boasting 500 warriors, and called himself "Tonka Capitain," or the great captain.

Besides these there were Cos-o-me-nah, dark, silent, stealthy; Wa-kon-sa, Umpashotah's son, a dude, painting his cheeks, forehead and chin with stars; Mo-koc-a-que-mon, Inkpadutah's oldest son, who was shot for his part in the Spirit Lake massacre, with low forehead, scowling face and thick lips; Mo-co-po-co, Inkpadutah's second son, sullen and ill favored.

FIRST CALL FOR TROOPS

The company at the fort had supervision of the entire territory from the head of the Cedar river to the Missouri. The first call upon them was in the

fall of 1851, on the occasion of the robbing of a trapper named Green, who was caught in Sac county and stripped of everything. In 1852, five families living on the Boyer river, sixty miles southwest of the fort, were raided. A young man and young woman and all the horses and property were taken by the Indians, who fled to the north. The troops caught Inkpadutah and Umpashotah at Granger's Point near the Minnesota line and brought them to the fort to be held as hostages until everything was returned. In ten days the young people and property were back, the "good Indians" who were caught telling about the chase they had had after the "bad Indians" who had committed the depredations.

The soldiers were ordered to leave the fort in September, 1853. Major Williams, his son James, and John Keffley remained. It was after the abandonment of the fort that the outrages most intimately associated with our early history were perpetrated. Of these by far the most important in its after effects was the murder of Sidominadotah by Henry Lott at Bloody Run in Humboldt county in January, 1854.

Major Williams records one fact in connection with the Sioux which is very singular. In all the raids made by them a very large negro was a prominent participant. The soldiers tried often to capture him, but failed. He was one of the boldest and most reckless of the savages in every outrage which was perpetrated during these years.

The Capital Most Needed

Thought, not money, is the real business capital, and if you know absolutely that what you are doing is right, then you are bound to accomplish it in due season.—HARVEY S. FIRESTONE.

Lincoln and Iowa

BY ORA WILLIAMS*

Abraham Lincoln knew Iowa people and appreciated the quality of Iowa soil.

He saw Iowa from the eastern rim and the western, but never traveled into the interior or across the state.

He bought and sold town lots in Iowa. He owned two Iowa farms he never saw.

He made two political speeches in Iowa. He was invited and urged to do more campaigning.

He practiced law in a district adjoining Iowa and met lawyers from this state. He took part in one lawsuit, a really big one, of vast importance to all Iowa.

He was deeply interested in western development by railroads and designated that the road to the Pacific should have terminus in Iowa.

As president he appointed able Iowa men to responsible offices. He named an Iowa man as member of his cabinet. An Iowa man wrote the platform on which he was elected. His son married an Iowa girl. He had warm affection for Iowa through his memory of his first sweetheart whose family became Iowa residents. He was much gratified over the whole-hearted response of the young state of Iowa to his call for support in saving the Union in its hour of greatest peril.

His appointment of an Iowa man to the supreme court gave that body one of its most eminent members. He named an Iowa man to be governor of Nebraska territory much to his credit. He gave authority to an Iowa man, high in his administration, to take a leading part in the first international postal convention.

Lincoln's keen eyes most certainly caught sight of Iowa as early as 1856 or 1857. He had attained eminence as a lawyer. His standing was such that he was em-

*This manuscript was written by Mr. Williams prior to his resignation as Curator of the Iowa State Department of History and Archives in 1946 and since held in the ANNALS files.

ployed by the Rock Island railroad company to assist in the defense of an action brought to prevent, if possible, the building of any bridges from Illinois into Iowa across the Mississippi river. A St. Louis steamboat had broken a bridge at Davenport. Through Lincoln's logic, it was determined that bridge building could not be prevented just because some steamboat men were unable to go safely between bridge piers. Lincoln had made personal inspection of the scene of the accident that occasioned the lawsuit.

Lincoln's first public appearance in Iowa was at Burlington. It was a side event in the famous debates he had with Senator Douglas in the campaign of 1858. In an interval of two or three days between debate dates, Lincoln came to Burlington, and on October 9, 1858, he spoke to Iowa Republicans. There was a campaign on in Iowa as well as in Illinois, though not for governor.

Lincoln's next appearance in Iowa was as a railroad attorney. He attended court at Galena in the spring of 1859, and having some business at Dubuque, he went there in his special car as attorney for the Illinois Central. He made no speech at that time. It was purely a business visit.

The next visit of Lincoln to Iowa was entirely accidental and informal, but he did make a political speech. In the summer of 1859 he went into Kansas to speak on the political issues of the day. When he returned as far as St. Joseph, Missouri, much wearied by his travels, he was induced by a steamboat captain to accompany him up-river for a rest. They reached Council Bluffs where he met friends. The steamboat became grounded on a sandbar, and the friends profited by this accident to arrange a public meeting to be addressed by the man who on the previous year had so well acquitted himself in debate. Lincoln made a speech which was well received by his friends and received the usual scoffing from his opponents.

But the report of his persuasiveness spread to the

interior, and John A. Kasson, then at the head of the new Republican party in Iowa, formally invited Lincoln to speak at the state fair at Oskaloosa. Unfortunately the date could not be met.

It was at Council Bluffs that Lincoln's friends took him up a high hill overlooking the Missouri valley and showed him where the road to the Pacific ought to start. He remembered it and later while he was president, he designated Council Bluffs as the terminal for the Union Pacific. Lincoln returned home by way of St. Joseph.

Lincoln did not visit Iowa again, but neither did he forget. It was related that on the occasion of the Council Bluffs visit, he showed the paper issued to him as pay for being captain in the Black Hawk war, entitling him to get land, and he expressed a wish to acquire land in Iowa. Before the end of that year he had applied for a deed to land and secured the "land patent" therefor. That Iowa farm was 120 acres in Crawford county. It remained the property of the family until finally disposed of by his son as administrator of Mrs. Lincoln's estate.

This was not the only land that Lincoln had owned in Iowa. Two issues of "military scrap" were given Lincoln, both for service in the Black Hawk war. On the first he secured 40 acres of land in Tama county, which he held for a long time.

It is also related that Lincoln at one time owned some town lots in Council Bluffs. He is said to have purchased them direct from Mr. Judd, his leading Illinois friend. He probably did not hold them long.

A quite plausible explanation has been made for what might be called Lincoln's evident sentimental interest in Iowa soil. As everyone knows, his first love was for Ann Rutledge, and his failure to secure her for a helpmeet sorely grieved him through life. Now, Miss Rutledge's parents came to Iowa and a brother received an appointment from Lincoln.

Not alone by reason of his well acquired fame as a

political debater, but by many contacts, Lincoln had influential friends in Iowa and a host of sincere admirers, so that he stood well when the great convention met to nominate one who would become the Civil War president. Lincoln had support in the Iowa delegation, but it was not unanimous, for the reason that delegates chosen here had come from other states and knew other candidates. But, a member of the Iowa delegation (Kasson), was on the resolutions committee at Chicago in 1860 and put the finishing touches to the platform on which Lincoln was elected. Lincoln as president drafted Kasson to be first assistant postmaster general and from that post he went to Europe to open the way for international postal relations.

Another member of the Iowa delegation to the Chicago convention that nominated Lincoln was Alvin Saunders. President Lincoln sent him to Nebraska to be governor of the territory, in which position he acquitted himself well.

At the time of his visit to Council Bluffs, he met another who would be his life-long supporter—Gen. Grenville M. Dodge. He made good use of Dodge in the Civil war.

Lincoln did not have an Iowa man in his cabinet, but he did name one to be a member, and the transaction was not quite completed when Booth fired the fatal shot. Lincoln's successor, Mr. Johnson, did take Senator Harlan into the cabinet as Lincoln had intended.

Lincoln knew the Harlan family well. Mrs. Harlan had been of great value in the war work and stood in high esteem, along with Aunt Becky Young and Ann Wittenmeyer. Besides, Lincoln's son, Robert T., married a daughter of Harlan.

No appointment made by President Lincoln redounded more to his credit than his placing Samuel F. Miller on the supreme court. Although Lincoln and Miller had practiced law in adjoining districts they had not met. In fact, when Miller's name was presented to

the president with assurance he would make a good judge, Lincoln did not know the man, but accepted the unanimous indorsement of the Iowa bar. In that manner, the highest court of the land secured one of its greatest constitutional judges.

Lincoln's friends in Iowa were among the very best and most loyal of citizens. Lincoln had no need to make a campaign in Iowa for himself. That he loved Iowa, there is no doubt. There is in Iowa a marker (Council Bluffs) where he stood and pointed out the place for the start to the Pacific on the rails. His Gettysburg address is an all-sufficient monument to him for all Iowa.

Hoegh Remains an Iowa Citizen

Since his appointment by President Eisenhower as National Civil Defense Administrator and need to be in Washington, Gov. Leo A. Hoegh has sold his residence in Chariton, Iowa, and moved his family to Westwood, Maryland, a suburb of the national capital. This gave rise to wonderment if he would return to Iowa at the end of his official Washington service. Quickly he set at rest any doubt saying, "We are not pulling up stakes in Iowa. Chariton will continue to be my official residence. This is a great town and Iowa is a great state, and why should anybody abandon either of them?"

Nearly all former governors of the state have remained citizens here following their service as executives. Only two outstanding exceptions have been noted. Gov. Leslie M. Shaw, went to Washington as Secretary of the Treasury under Pres. Theodore Roosevelt, and afterward moved to Philadelphia, where with others he organized and became the president of a financial institution. Also, Gov. Frank D. Jackson, after official retirement, spent long years as a citizen in Des Moines, but eventually late in life removed to California, where one of his sons resided, and there he died.

Iowa Senatorial Deadlocks

BY EMORY H. ENGLISH

With the operation of the Iowa primary law, the present generation of politicians has lost some entertainment and a marked degree of excitement afforded in the old-time conventions held in the state. The record has it that up in the Forty-ninth, the Big Four district comprised of Lyon, Osceola, O'Brien and Sioux counties in northwestern Iowa, in 1899, it took 3,273 ballots by delegates in a two-day convention to nominate a Republican candidate for state senator.

Selection was finally made of George W. Lister, an attorney, of Sibley, Osceola county, who received the nomination on the last ballot through his securing in addition to the five delegates from his home county, the votes of the thirteen delegates from Sioux county, which prior to that ballot had been cast for the incumbent Senator Henry Hospers of Orange City, seeking renomination.

The convention was held at Sheldon, its sessions beginning June 27, 1899. The officers were H. P. Scott, of O'Brien county, chairman, and H. B. Price, secretary, of Lyon county. Three candidates received votes, being Ed C. Roach of Rock Rapids, Lyon county, former member of the state House of Representatives in the Twenty-first and the Twenty-second General Assemblies, Mr. Lister, who had not been a legislator, and Senator Hospers.

Upon the first ballot the following vote was had: Lyon county—Roach 7, O'Brien county—Roach 10, Osceola county—Lister 5, and Sioux County—Hospers 13.

During all subsequent ballots had that day until late afternoon, when breaking all previous political records in the state, at the end of the 2,360th ballot, the voting was the same, and adjournment was taken until 7:30 that evening. Then voting was resumed

and proceeded with many roll calls, when adjournment was taken until the next day. All sorts of suggestions and schemes were advanced for a settlement of the deadlock, but none were successful up to that time. The Roach managers, needing just one additional vote all this time, were anxious but hopeful. However, it still was not forthcoming.

Senator Hospers naturally desired a renomination despite decided sentiment in other counties for a change. His delegates had remained anxious all day and during adjournments in the balloting labored with the five Osceola delegates to support Hospers, which consistently had been given to Lister right along through the balloting.

Voting was resumed the following morning, but each roll call remained the same; no outside candidates were voted for at any time. Eventually the Hospers delegates decided their senator could not be renominated, and concluded to end the deadlock by choosing between the other two candidates which should receive the nomination. Their choice was Lister, who had trailed with five votes during all of the balloting. So, on the 3,273d ballot the thirteen Sioux county votes were cast for Lister, giving him a total of eighteen and the nomination, and on motion of delegate Sam D. Riniker, of Lyon county the vote was made unanimous with no dissent.

The defeated candidates made congratulatory addresses and pledged support of the nominee. Complimentary resolutions praising Senator Hosper's service were adopted unanimously, and a notable Iowa political convention came to a close shortly after four p.m. of its second day.

This was the second deadlocked convention in the Big Four senatorial district, and of special interest to A. H. Davison of Des Moines, long the secretary of the Executive council of Iowa, formerly a resident of Rock Rapids, Lyon county, which he represented in the Iowa house in the Twenty-fifth General Assembly.

He was quoted in the *Iowa State Register* with the following informative comment:

This convention in the Big Four district is just like the one four years ago. Perhaps I'm able to feel a little more philosophical about it this time, because then I was a candidate for the senatorial nomination. It was the same fight as now, except then O'Brien had a candidate. Frank P. Piper was supported by its ten votes, Lister had the five of Osceola, Hospers the thirteen of Sioux, and the seven of Lyon were for myself. George W. Pitts, who is now chairman of the Sioux delegation, was at the head of Hospers' delegation from Sioux.

In that convention, as in the present one, Sioux and Osceola had just enough votes to nominate if they could get together. Hospers agreed positively that he wouldn't be a candidate for a second term, and this was one of the sources of his strength. They took either 1,767 or 1,776 ballots, I'm not now certain which, before a nomination was made. Then the Sioux county people got tired. A fifteen-minute recess was taken, and they gave it out that they were going to make a break. Then, on reconvening, O'Brien, rather than let the nomination go to Lyon, broke, giving part of its vote to Hospers and part to me; but Hospers got the larger part of it, and enough to nominate him.

Back of the Constitution

We Americans say that the Constitution made the nation. The Constitution is a great document and we never would have been a nation without it, but it took more than that to make the nation. Rather it was our forefathers and foremothers, who made the Constitution and then made it work. The government they constructed did get great things out of them, but it was not the government primarily that put the great things into them. What put the great things into them was their home life, their religion, their sense of personal responsibility to Almighty God, their devotion to education, their love of liberty, their personal character.

—HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK, D.D.

Iowa People and Events . . .

Could Have Been Supreme Judge

It is not generally known, but since revealed, that had Governor N. E. Kendall known that former governor George W. Clarke would have accepted appointment or was interested at all in a position upon the Iowa supreme bench, he would have been so appointed by the governor upon the death of Judge Silas M. Weaver November 6, 1923.

A mutual friend of both these men who was then in the state government and still living tells of interviewing Governor Kendall shortly after Judge Weaver's death and before announcement of an appointment to fill the vacancy on the bench was made. He told Kendall that Clarke had once revealed to him that he would have much rather served upon the supreme bench of Iowa than to have been governor of the state.

Kendall replied, "I do wish I had known that before, for I have already informed friends of Mr. Charles W. Vermilion of Centerville that he would receive the appointment." Then he added, "It would have given me great satisfaction to appoint Governor Clarke to the position."

In a few days announcement was made of the Vermilion appointment, and it is possible that Clarke never knew how close he came to receiving the distinction of a place upon the Iowa supreme court that he had coveted, and which Judge Vermilion assumed November 15, 1923, and filled with ability, although for a comparatively short time, for he died September 2, 1927.

Ingham Studied the Indians

Insight and knowledge of the Indians who ravaged Northern Iowa in the early Iowa days, their leader-

ship, hatred of the whites and depredations generally were sidelines in Harvey Ingham's versatile life. As a youth in Algona he was regaled with accounts by his father, W. H. Ingham, a pioneer of that region, of experiences in surveying the area, when Fort Dodge and Fort Defiance were established.

In this issue will be found writings of Mr. Ingham in more mature days, a manuscript detailing some of his knowledge of both Indians of the Iowa-Minnesota section, as well as the whites who were watchful and on the defensive against their vengeful natures much feared by settlers there. Among these he speaks with admiration of the qualities and ability in leadership of Major William H. Williams, who was in charge at Fort Dodge, originally known as Fort Clarke, appointed to keep peace with the Indians. They came to fear him and in measure respect his sagacity as a representative of the white man's government.

Harvey Ingham was educated at Iowa City where he was graduated from the State University of Iowa as a lawyer, but after a short period in the practice of law at Cedar Rapids turned to newspapering and contributed much to the public by his services in that field, first at Algona and then at Des Moines, his editorial work being outstanding among the leading newspapermen of Iowa.

First Saw Mill in Des Moines

A record left by the late Simon Casady, Des Moines banker, tells of a saw mill built in Des Moines by Col. C. C. Van in the year 1850. This mill was located in what was known as South Des Moines near the site where the upper 'Coon bridge later was built. At the time Mr. Casady made the notation, the old smokestack constructed of brick with frame made of oak was then standing, but fast rotting away, even nearly ready to fall, although the foundation of the smokestack was as solid and good as when first built.

The machinery for the mill, the old Colonel (then a young man) brought from St. Louis, related Mr. Casady, and hauled it from Keokuk on wagons drawn by oxen. The boiler created a sensation at every habitation it passed on the way out, and when it arrived at Des Moines, it was a second-hand, old fashioned boiler, and had done good service on a Mississippi steamer before being brought West. Few new boilers were brought to this country in those days, though many of them were sold as new ones. The frame for the mill house was up when the machinery arrived—the lumber for the balance of the house was sawed afterward.

The starting of Van's Mill was a great event in the early history of Des Moines. The day of starting had been announced some time before the time arrived, and consequently, nearly all the male inhabitants of the then village at the Raccoon Fork, were in attendance to see the first move of the fly-wheel, and hear the first buzz of the saw. It was in the winter—December, 1850, cold as the mountains of Greenland are reported to be. A bleak wind from the northwest whistled over the iced surface of the unbridged 'Coon.

The steam turned white when it came into the wintry air. The new packing smelling of white lead and brass, leaked steam, and made a general sizzling and hissing, commented Mr. Casady. The anxious crowd stood around stamping their feet and clapping their hands to keep warm. Finally all things were found in readiness and the engine started—then the sawyer raised a lever and sent a log whizzing through. The first cut was made amid deafening cheers—or at least as near deafening as one hundred voices could make them on a cold day. Among those present to see the thing move were B. F. Allen, W. W. Williamson, Ed. Clapp and Thos. McMullen.

The mill, after being run a couple of years, passed from the hands of Mr. Van, and was traded and sold frequently in subsequent years—breaking up every

man into whose possession it came, except B. F. Allen. It was a very expensive concern to operate. Every time anything broke, the broken piece had to be sent to St. Louis to be repaired. It was frequently out of repair.

Effigy Mounds Development

A new scheduling of the development of Effigy Mounds National Monument in Allamakee county area is now dated for 1959-60 by the National Park Service at Washington, according to notice given to Congressman Henry O. Talle. A review of plans for the project are underway that will provide total expenditure there of \$887,000 by the U.S. government, for roads and trails construction, and \$268,200 under the buildings and utilities account, a total of \$1,155,200, the amounts subject to changing construction costs of improvement now projected.

Some adjustments have been made making possible the inauguration of the program of construction in 1959, the first activity being the installation of a sewer system, entrance road and parking facilities. High priority will be given to construction in the north area preliminary to building construction in 1960. A visitor center will be provided early in the work planned to cost \$123,000, which will house administrative offices and the museum contemplated.

A bridge over the Yellow river and an overpass over Highway 13 also are included in the early construction work. The National Park Service feels that before a final decision is reached as to a road system including these improvements, it will be highly advisable for the visitor center and the trail system to be in operation a year or two, during which time public use patterns will be studied. Meanwhile, necessary topographical and archeological data can be had. This early improvement and development of the area has been advanced over date originally thought possible. Effigy Mounds will be Iowa's first national monument.

Iowa's Notable Dead . . .

JOHN L. HILLMAN, retired college president and clergyman, died at Wesley Acres, Des Moines, July 13, 1957; born in Licking county, Ohio, July 8, 1865; son of Thomas R. and Phoebe A. (Green) Hillman; married Lizzie L. Howes, of Massachusetts; received his bachelor's degree from Ohio Wesleyan, Delaware, Ohio, in 1886 and his bachelor of sacred theology from Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts, in 1889; was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, honorary scholastic fraternity, at Ohio Wesleyan; also had honorary doctor of divinity degrees from Wesleyan and Baldwin Wallace College, Berea, Ohio; LL.D. from College of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Washington; and LH.D. from Simpson College, Indianola; of the honors accorded him, Dr. Hillman had said he was most pleased that about 30,000 persons had joined the Methodist church where he served during his active ministry; was a close friend of the late President Warren G. Harding, who assisted when Dr. Hillman joined the Masonic lodge, Mrs. Harding an attendant at Epworth Methodist church in Marion, Ohio, when Dr. Hillman was pastor there, the Harding and Hillman families living across the street from each other in Marion; after the Marion pastorate also enjoyed a successful ministry at Youngstown, Ohio; came to Iowa from the Youngstown church, then the fourth largest in Methodism; served First Methodist church in Des Moines from 1912 to 1917, the \$212,000 youth wing of the church, opened in 1955, being named Hillman Hall in honor of the former pastor; went to Toledo, Ohio, as minister for two years before becoming president of Simpson College at Indianola; also had charges in Columbus and Cleveland, Ohio, and in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; while president of Simpson from 1919 to 1936, the administration building was erected and the endowment nearly doubled; as president there, granted the late Dr. George Washington Carver, Negro scientist, his first honorary degree; also was a friend of Dr. Carver and an authority on his work; retired from Simpson at the age of 70, but continued there for some months as professor of the Bible; was an executive committee member of the Methodist Publishing House; a member of the University senate, in charge of church colleges; and chairman of several committees in the North Central Association of Colleges and Universities; a director of the Home Federal Savings and Loan Association, a member of the Blue lodge Masons and Consistory and an honorary member of the Indianola Rotary club; also had been president of the Iowa Anti-Saloon

League and an executive committee member of the national league; surviving are two sons, Dr. Paul M. Hillman, minister of Asbury Methodist church, Des Moines, and John W. Hillman, editor of the *Evansville* (Ind.) *Courier*; and three daughters, Mrs. Horace T. Lavelly, Nashville, Tenn.; Mrs. Alice H. Sanders, director of health services of the Milwaukee County Community Welfare Council, Milwaukee, Wis.; and Mrs. Helen H. Fischer, a teacher in Oak Park, Ill.; also 11 grandchildren and 25 great-grandchildren.

GEORGE EDWARD CROTHERS, lawyer, former judge and philanthropist, died at Stanford university hospital, San Francisco, May 16, 1957; born at Wapello, Louisa county, Iowa, May 27, 1870; son of John and Margaret Jane (Fair) Crothers; mother a sister of the late Senator James G. Fair; lived on Iowa farms until 13, then moved to San Jose, California; received his A.B. at Stanford university in 1895 and his A.M. in 1896; married Elizabeth, daughter of the late W. H. Mills, of San Francisco, March 23, 1911, who died August 18, 1920; classmate of former President Herbert Hoover in the first graduating class at Stanford in 1895, and was the first alumnus to become a member of the university's board of trustees; elected to the board in 1902, was responsible for setting a ten-year term for trustees; received a law degree at Stanford a year after his graduation; began practice with his brother, Thomas C. Crothers, and was appointed to the superior court seven years later; was elected in 1914 and resumed private practice at the end of his term; was sole trustee of the \$6,000,000 trust that Mrs. Leland Stanford provided should go to the university through him upon her death; one of the attorneys of record for the Fair trustees during protracted litigation, 1899-1902; had personal charge of forgery branch of Fair estate litigation; jointly with brother wrote and caused to be passed by legislature, 1899, and by people, 1900, amendment to state constitution enabling the correction of defects in the organization and grants of Stanford university and the perfecting of its title; also several acts of legislature to the same end; represented Mrs. Stanford and trustees in amendment, confirmation and legal construction of university grants; one of five trustees of Stanford Kindergarten Trust; honorary trustee San Francisco Boys' Club, Inc.; donor of Crothers Hall, a dormitory for advanced law students and also installed in the dormitory a law library of about 6,000 books at Stanford in 1948; contributed funds to erect a dormitory in 1954; president General Alumni Association, Stanford, 1899-1900 and 1913-14; a member of the American Historical Association, California Historical Society, American Law Institute, American Political Science Association, National Municipal League,

Seismological Society of America, Sigma Nu, Phi Delta Phi, Schoolmasters' Club of California; chairman Independent Republicans, San Francisco, 1909-12, and Republican County Committee 1912-13; an Episcopalian and a member of the following clubs: University, Pacific Union, Monterey Peninsula, Menlo Country; author of booklets: "Outline of the Founding of the Leland Stanford Junior University" and "The Educational Ideals of Jane Lathrop Stanford."

NORMAN ISAAC MENZER, retired merchant and civic leader, died at Creston, Iowa, May 25, 1957; born in Lithuania in 1883, came to America as an immigrant boy with his parents when five years of age, his family locating in 1889, at Fontanelle, Iowa, where they launched a mercantile business, the old Menzer store still being operated; orphaned by death of his father when a boy of 10, entered the store as a helper and upon graduating from high school joined the store force with his mother full time in 1904, and joining with his brother-in-law, Sam Friedman, later purchased the business, then operating it as partners until 1929; married Henriette Landau, July 7, 1920, and removed to Creston in 1929, when he acquired the Strass drygoods store, which was sold in 1934, and launched a women's ready-to-wear store there; suffered a heavy loss by a terrific fire in 1942, that swept the whole business section of east Maple street, but rebuilt and continued as one of Creston's leading business houses, later also operating stores in Chariton, Centerville and Atlantic, assisted by his son, Calman Menzer and others of the Menzer family; retired in 1953 after 54 years in business; took leading part in community affairs, in the chamber of commerce, a past president of the Rotary club and of the Salvation Army board of directors, a director of the First National bank, a 33rd degree Mason, an Elk; active in untold community enterprises, including Red Cross drives, Boy Scout programs, the United Fund campaigns and USO activities; honored many times by the community for public-spirited generosity to the needy and unfortunate; survived by his widow and two children, Calman Menzer of Los Angeles, and Mrs. Mary Jane Solomon of Boston, two sisters and five grandchildren.

FRANK B. HALLAGAN, lawyer, former judge, legislator, soldier and public official, died at Des Moines, Iowa, July 2, 1957; born in Franklin county, Illinois, August 16, 1889; educated in the public schools and Valparaiso university, Valparaiso, Indiana, and received his law degree from that institution in 1914; had served in Company F, 23rd U. S. infantry from 1907 in the Philippine Islands and the Mexican border; married Pearle Kirkpatrick of Royalton, Illinois, July 6, 1914, and moved to

Des Moines that year, becoming general counsel for the National Life Insurance association; during World War I was an instructor in the officers' training school at Camp Lee, Virginia; returned to Iowa, to practice of law as general counsel for the Merchant's Life Insurance company; appointed judge of the Des Moines municipal court, serving in 1927-28; during World War II was chief legal officer of selective service in Iowa, retiring shortly after the end of the war with the rank of brigadier general; represented Polk county in the Iowa house of representatives in 1939; during period of martial law in Iowa served as special assistant attorney general and aid to civil authorities; was Des Moines corporation counsel under Mayor Heck Ross; was grand patron of the Eastern Star in 1928 and 1929 and head of the Des Moines consistory in 1946; also was a member of the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and College Avenue Christian church; in recent years was associated in law firm with James P. Irish and Berry O. Burt in the law firm of Hallagan, Irish and Burt; survivors include his widow, Pearle, and a daughter, Mrs. William Marks, Jr., both of Des Moines; a brother, Harvey of Bloomington, Illinois, and a sister, Mrs. Charles Sursa, Carbondale, Illinois.

COL. CHARLES ROSS GREENING, USAF, survivor of the World War II raid on Tokyo and one of the war's most colorful heroes, died at Bethesda Naval hospital at Washington, D.C., March 29, 1957; born at Carroll, Iowa, in 1915, and after removal to Tacoma, Washington, became a star athlete there and a fine arts graduate in 1936 from Washington State College, Pullman, Washington; enlisted in the Air Corps in 1937, the year he married Dorothy Watson; as an Air Corps captain was credited by the then Col. James (Jimmy) Doolittle with designing a 20-cent bombsight for the 1942 attack on Tokyo so that no secret bombsight would fall into enemy hands; was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross and Silver Star; the flight commander who successfully dodged the enemy in Asia, North Africa and Italy succumbed to endocarditis, a heart lining inflammation; praying for his recovery from this 2-year illness were many residents of five towns in northern Italy, where he was shot down and eluded German troops for more than a year; grateful to residents of Masarolis, Italy, and other villages, who risked their lives to help him hide from German troops, he was arranging economic aid for them at the time of his death; despite their efforts to hide him, was captured, then recaptured after an escape, and sent for the remainder of the war to Stalag Luft 1, a prison camp in Germany; helped his fellow captives meet prison hardships by teaching them to paint and work with their hands; moved to Washington in 1949 for several Pentagon assignments;

in 1955 was sent to Australia as an air attache, but returned last July after he became ill; surviving are his widow and two sons, Allan Ross, 9, and Charles William, 7, all of 6413 Winnipeg road, Bethesda, and his mother, Mrs. Carlile Kenyon of Bozeman, Montana.

CHARLES C. BOYSEN, publisher of *Washington Post*, soldier and former U. S. official, died at Washington, D.C., July 7, 1957; born at Cedar Falls, Iowa, February 10, 1885; son of Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Boysen; graduated from the local high school and attended Iowa State College at Ames in the electrical engineering school; after graduation went with Iowa National Guard unit in 1916 to the Mexican border, and promoted from first sergeant to second lieutenant; saw combat in France in World War I as a U. S. infantry captain; after war, assisted in management of Cedar Falls power plant and in 1922 went with the U. S. Bureau of Internal Revenue in Iowa and later with the Federal Land bank in this area; one of the organizers of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, in association with Eugene Meyer; went to the *Washington Post*, in 1933 as assistant treasurer when the newspaper was purchased by Mr. Meyer; progressed through the positions of assistant comptroller, comptroller and circulation director before becoming business manager in 1943; was closely identified with the expansion of the *Post* during the past two decades and was chiefly responsible for labor negotiations until his resignation last February as secretary of the Washington Post Company when illness made it necessary for him to limit his activities, but continued as a director and also managed newsprint supply matters; was a member of the Rotary club and the Congressional Country club; was a past director of the National Capital Area Council of Boy Scouts; married Irene Stevens at Cedar Falls in 1922, who survives with a daughter, Mrs. Jaques J. Helbronner of Toronto, and two brothers, Paul at Jesup, Iowa, and John at Kansas City, also three sisters, Mrs. Harry Aelman of Cedar Falls, Catherine Ransom and Mrs. Earl Moothart, both of Waterloo, Iowa.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BUTLER, lawyer and former Iowa district judge, was fatally injured in an automobile accident near Waterloo, Iowa, his home, June 13, 1957, and died early the following morning; born near Vinton, Benton county, Iowa, February 20, 1887; only child of John M. and Ellen Correll Butler; attended public schools at Muscatine where he grew up, received degrees at the State University of Iowa, his B.A. in 1910 and his LL.B. in 1912; opened a law office at Sibley, Osceola county, Iowa, and served as mayor of Sibley and county attorney; elected and served as district judge there from

1926 to 1930; married Alice Webb of Sibley November 10, 1915, and they moved to Waterloo in 1930, and at time of death he was a member of the law firm of Pike, Sias, Butler and Hoxie; a member of the Presbyterian church, a veteran of World War I, a member of the Blackhawk county, Iowa State and American Bar Associations, the Kiwanis club, the Moose, the BPOE, St. Ignatius Conclave of the Red Cross of Constantine at Cedar Rapids, and of the advisory council of Region No. 8 Boy Scouts of America, covering a six-state area, a 32 degree Mason and past grand treasurer of the Grand Lodge of Mason of Iowa, and past president of the Waterloo Chamber of Commerce and of the Waterloo Symphony Concert association; survived by his widow, one son, Wallace W. Butler, a member of his law firm, and six grandchildren, another son Lawrence B. Butler having preceded him in death in 1953.

MABLE RITTGERS GENSO, Presbyterian missionary and religious teacher in Korea and Japan, died in Washington, D. C., June 27, 1957; born on a farm east of Grimes in Polk county, Iowa, April 5, 1882, daughter of R. R. and Abigail Rittgers, the tenth of thirteen children; following teaching in the Polk county schools for a period, went to Moody Bible Institute in Chicago and received further education and training in Christian Education and Social Service work; entered service of Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in 1908 and went to Korea as principal of the Chung Sin school for girls in Seoul; two years later married John Frederick Genso, young business manager of the Korean mission, who went to Korea upon the same boat; carried many mission assignments during intervening period to 1941, some advisory, others in mission field with personal workers; returned to Chicago during World War II, and in 1947 permitted to return to Korea, entering the greatest work of her career organizing the activities of the Korean adult literary campaign devoted to training adult educated Koreans for teaching; during the invasion period, the Gensos returned to Japan, Mrs. Genso being reassigned to Korea in 1954 this time by Literary Committee of the Presbyterian church to reactivate the literacy activity in Korea, Mr. Genso having passed away in 1950 in Kobe, Japan; surviving are two daughters, Gail Kinney, 2251 N. Vermont street, Arlington, with whom Mrs. Genso lived since last September, and Dr. Barbara Gisla of San Mateo; nine grandchildren and six brothers and sisters.

GOTFRED A. SMEDAL, clergyman and pension system executive, died at Roland, Iowa, June 22, 1957; born at Mundal, Kristiansand, Norway, September 20, 1861; received his bachelor of arts, doctor of philosophy and divinity degrees from the University

of Kristiania, Oslo, Norway; taught in various schools in Norway and married in that country; with his bride, Agnes Henriette Storake, came in 1889 to Ridgeway, Iowa, his first pastorate, followed by others at Forest City, Lake Mills and Leland; moved to Roland in 1895, when he became pastor of the Bergen Lutheran church there and continued in that pastorate 26 years; originated the retirement plan for Lutheran ministers after retirement from active ministerial work; was executive secretary of the pension system from 1920 to 1940, living at Minneapolis during this period, and since retirement had served as advisor to the administering board and in many other positions of trust in the Lutheran groups; author of many essays, poems, magazine articles and books, his latest book entitled, "The Historic Reality of Christianity," published in 1956; his wife having died June 28, 1951, the survivors include a daughter, Mrs. Elsie Highland, Roland, and three sons, Carl A. and Olav Smedal, both of Ames, George of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, eight grandchildren and nine great-grandchildren, two children having previously passed away, a daughter, Agnes, who died at age of two, and a son, Harold, who died in 1944.

JOHN HUSTON, veteran newspaperman, died at Ottumwa, Iowa, July 9, 1957; born in Ottumwa, April 3, 1881; eldest son of Mr. and Mrs. Chris Huston; after attending the public schools, in 1897 entered the employment of the *Ottumwa Courier* at 16 years of age, progressing from one responsibility until another needed his service, became its publisher in 1928, holding that position at his death; employment with the *Courier* eventually extending to nearly 60 years, longer than that of any other person; active in community affairs, served as a director of the Ottumwa Chamber of Commerce for many years, being president of the chamber in 1932; was Community Chest director in 1932, when it raised more money for Ottumwa charities than ever before or since; a member of the Catholic church and a fourth degree Knights of Columbus; was president of the Iowa Press Association in 1936 and received its master editor—publisher award in 1950; served for three years as director of the Inland Press Association and was active in the affairs of the Associated Press and American Newspaper Publishers Association; was a Republican and served as a delegate to the 1936 national convention in Cleveland, Ohio; married August 24, 1909, to Rose Ella Meany, Ottumwa, who survives with a daughter, Mrs. George Scully, Waterloo; a son, Bernard J. Huston of Ottumwa, and six grandchildren.

IOWA STATE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ARCHIVES

Claude R. Cook, Curator
Des Moines

An institution of the State of Iowa, located at the seat of government, established as a department of the State in 1892, and administered by a Curator elected by a Board of Trustees composed of the Governor of the State, a Justice of the Iowa Supreme Court and the Superintendent of Public Instruction. It consists of the following divisions:

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Publication: *ANNALS OF IOWA, a Magazine of History*

The Newspaper Division—Files of Iowa newspapers and periodicals from territorial days to the present

The Manuscript Collection including papers, addresses, documents and correspondence of eminent Iowans, supplying unrecorded chapters in state history

In the interest of preserving Iowa history, the Curator solicits the presentation, to the Manuscript Collection, of letters, diaries, family histories, and general manuscripts about Iowans and institutions in the area of which the state is a geographical part.

ANNALS OF IOWA

In the more than half a century the *ANNALS OF IOWA* has been published, it has been a repository for, and made available, a vast amount of valuable data on the history of the State otherwise not accessible. The securing of material, and editing and supervising its publication, is a part of the immediate task of carrying on the work of the Department in harmony with established traditions.

Bound files of the publication are preserved in countless libraries of the State, and may be consulted by those engaged in research and historical writing.

